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KASHMIR: Cry Freedom



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KASHMIR: CRY FREEDOM

Eds,
A. R. Minhas
Mustahsan Aqil



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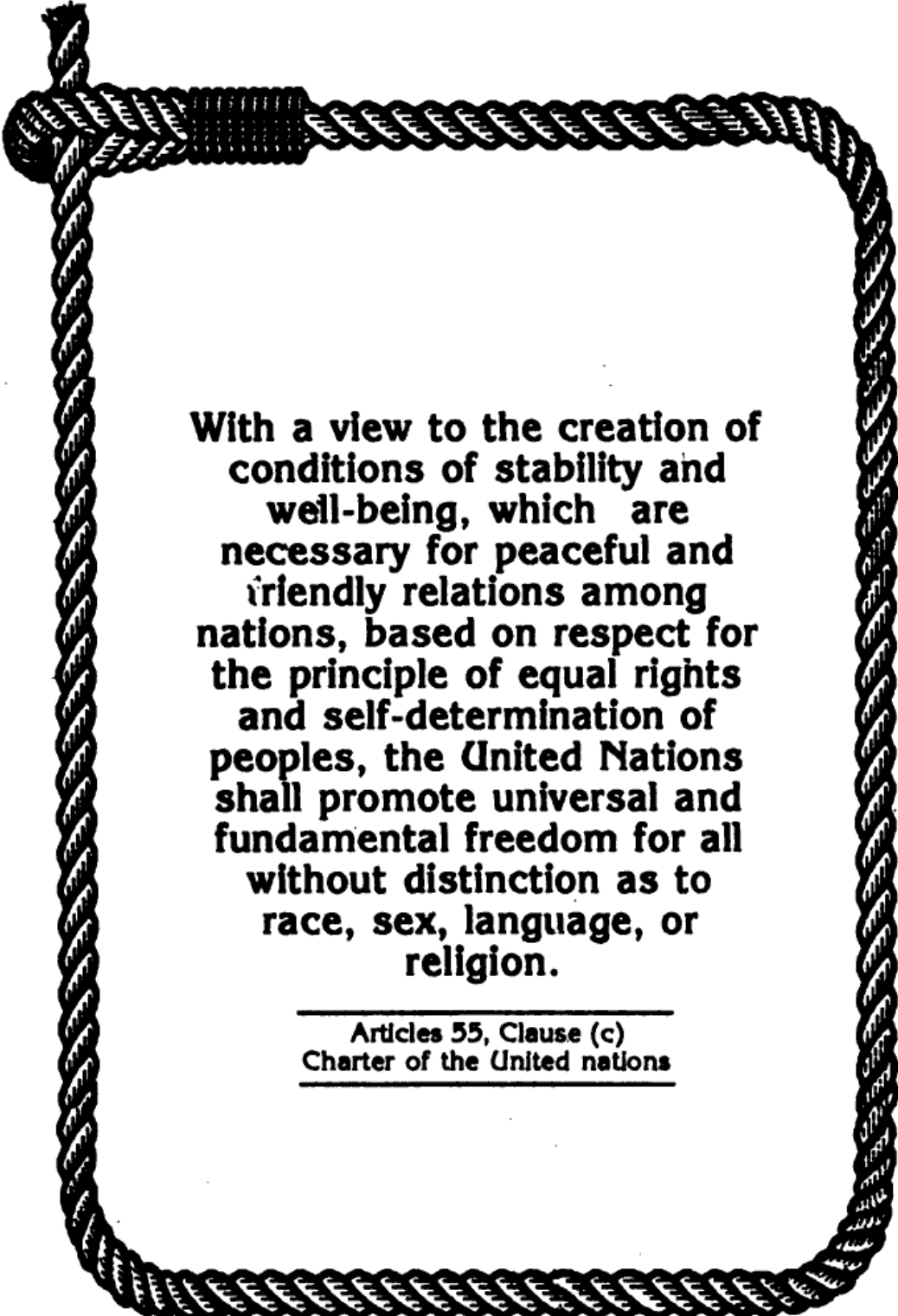
*Dedicated to all those
who sacrificed their today
for our tomorrow
Specially to our friend
Mohammad Rauf Kashmiri
who is detained somewhere in
Indian occupied Kashmir by India*

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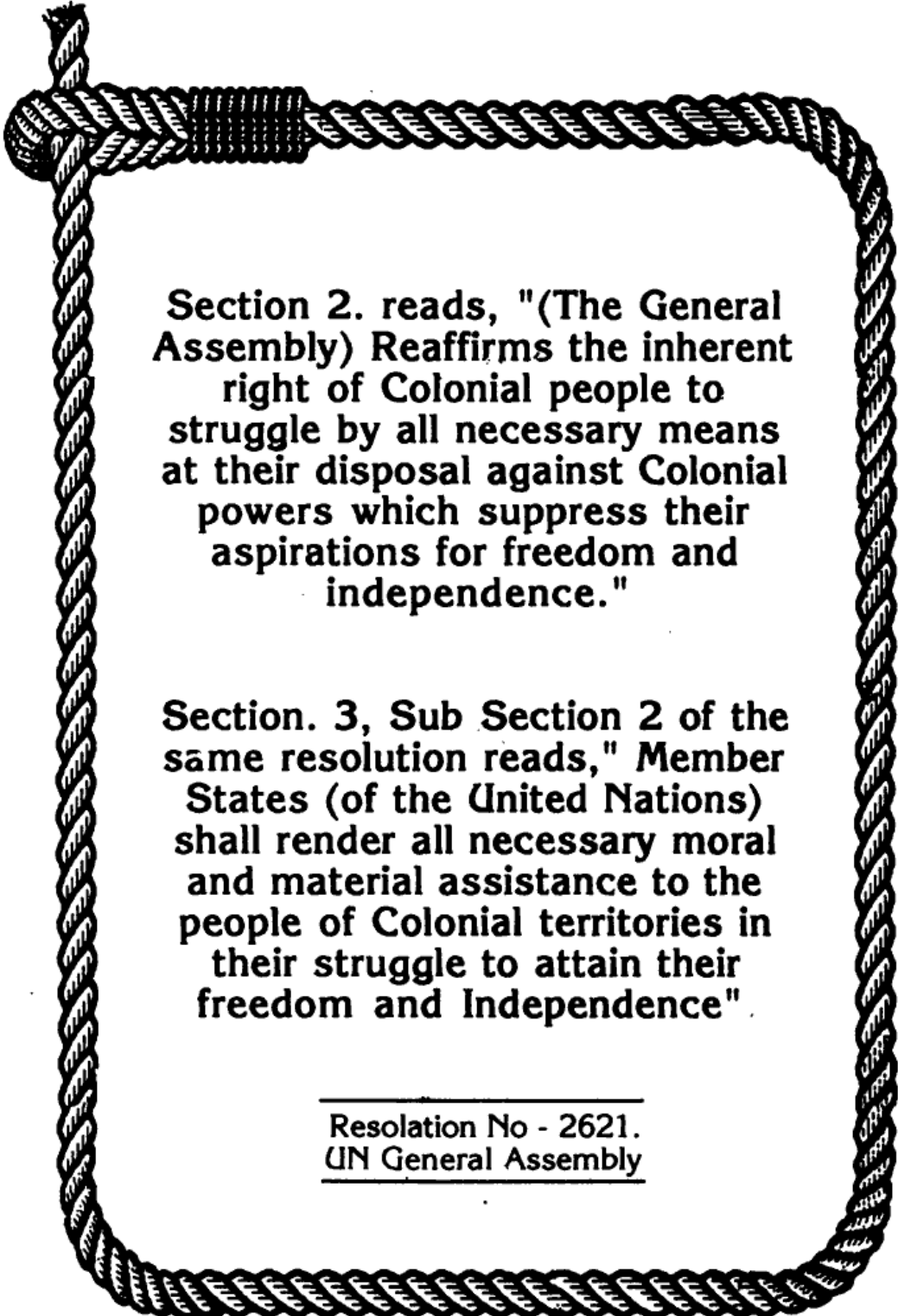
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**With a view to the creation of
conditions of stability and
well-being, which are
necessary for peaceful and
friendly relations among
nations, based on respect for
the principle of equal rights
and self-determination of
peoples, the United Nations
shall promote universal and
fundamental freedom for all
without distinction as to
race, sex, language, or
religion.**

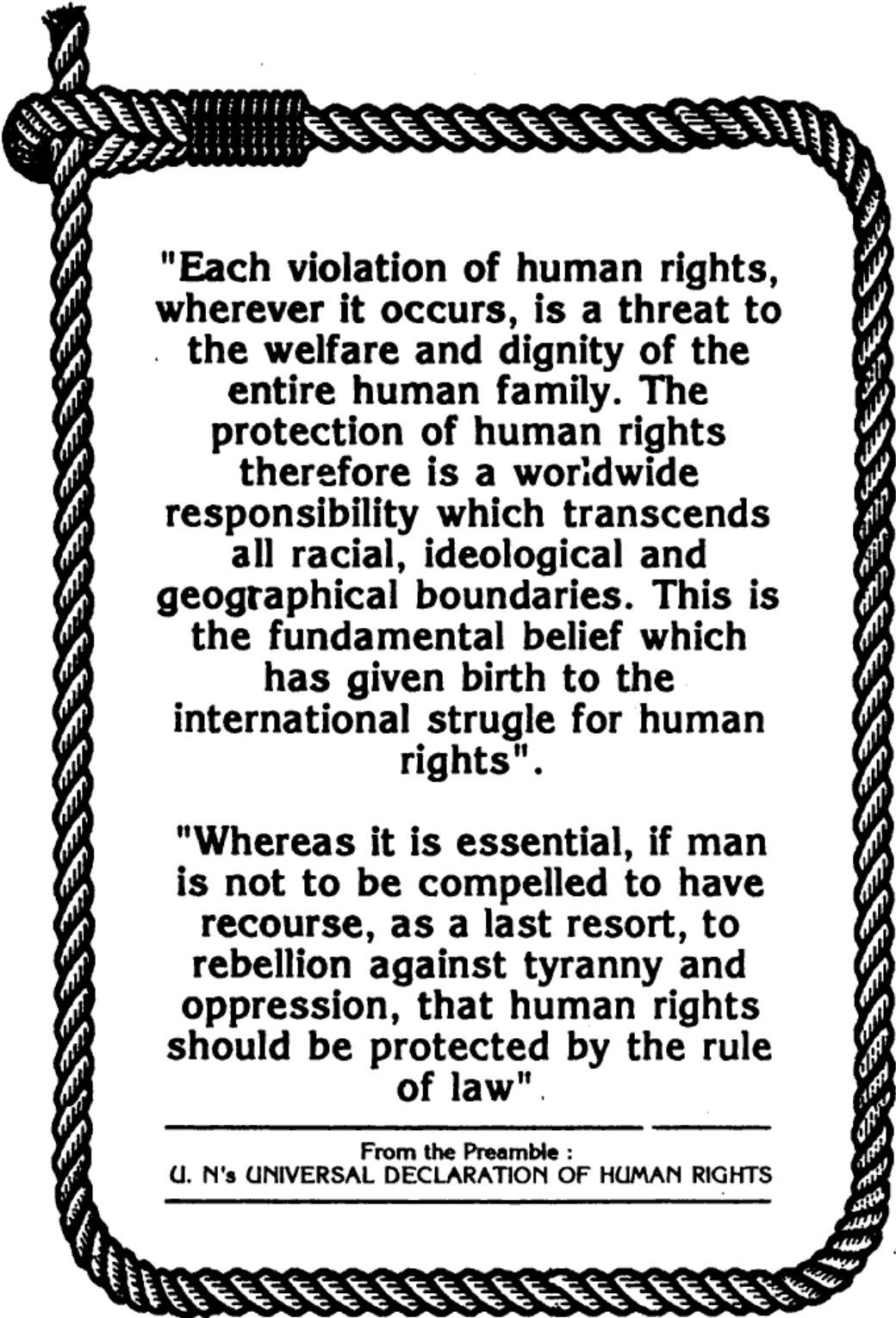
**Articles 55, Clause (c)
Charter of the United Nations**



Section 2. reads, "(The General Assembly) Reaffirms the inherent right of Colonial people to struggle by all necessary means at their disposal against Colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence."

Section. 3, Sub Section 2 of the same resolution reads," Member States (of the United Nations) shall render all necessary moral and material assistance to the people of Colonial territories in their struggle to attain their freedom and Independence"

**Resolution No - 2621.
UN General Assembly**



"Each violation of human rights, wherever it occurs, is a threat to the welfare and dignity of the entire human family. The protection of human rights therefore is a worldwide responsibility which transcends all racial, ideological and geographical boundaries. This is the fundamental belief which has given birth to the international struggle for human rights".

"Whereas it is essential, if man is not to be compelled to have recourse, as a last resort, to rebellion against tyranny and oppression, that human rights should be protected by the rule of law"

From the Preamble :
U. N's UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS

FOREWARD

Such is Kashmir, the country which may be conquered by the forces of the spiritual love but not by the armed might. (Kalhana)

"Kashmir: Cry Freedom" is the voice of hundreds of thousands of Kashmiris, the sufferers of foreign occupation of nearly half a century. It consists of articles about the recent burning uprising in Kashmir, very carefully collected from Kashmiri, Indian, Pakistani and international press over a span of almost three years till 31st December, 1990.

These more than 200 articles and press cuttings of reputable writers and journalists, speak themselves of the atrocities in Indian occupied Kashmir, which the Kashmiris are forced to face for the unfettered and well accepted stand of self determination.

These articles and press cuttings are given in a day to day chronological order.

The dedication and keenness of the editors has managed to collect the given date of human rights violation in a very mannered and responsible way. This data is based upon the given articles, press cuttings, reports of different Indian and international human right organisations and also radio monitoring.

K. Shazad Choudhry

KASHMIR : INTRODUCTION

Location :

Heart of Asia, with historical links to both South and Central Asia. Surrounded by Pakistan, Afghanistan, China and India.

Area :

86,000 square miles, more than three times the size of Belgium, the Netherlands and Luxemburg combined.

Population :

12 million (estimate) including 1.5 million refugees in Pakistan and 0.4 million expatriates.

Status :

Historically independent, except in the anarchical conditions of late 18th and the first half of 19th century and when incorporated in the vast empires set up by the Mauryas (3rd century BC), the Mughals (16th to 18th centuries) and the British (mid-19th to mid-20th centuries). All these empires included not only present-day India and Pakistan but other countries as well. Under the British, Kashmir had internal autonomy.

Present Status :

In dispute since 1947, 63% of the area occupied by India.

Cause of Dispute:

India's claim that Kashmir is Indian territory. The claim is rejected by the people of Kashmir, challenged by Pakistan. It has never been accepted by the United Nations, never legally validated.

Solution :

Demilitarization of Kashmir (through withdrawal of all outside forces) followed immediately by a plebiscite under impartial control to determine the future status of Kashmir.

Great Power Policies :

When the dispute was first brought to the United Nations, the Security Council, with the firm backing of the United States, urged the solution described above. At that time, the Soviet Union did not dissent from it. Later, because of the cold war, the Soviet Union blocked every resolution of the Council calling for implementation of the settlement plan.

Likely Possibilities :

Only two, Either ascertaining the wishes of the people about their future and acting accordingly or the continuance of the status quo with violent repression and the spectra of carnage in the India-occupied part and chronic conflict and the danger of war in the subcontinent of South Asia.

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teenage girls to 80 year old women, burnt thousands of residential houses and business presises, physically crippled for life thousands of Kashmiri youth through inhuman torture, kept tens of thousands of kashmiris in prison without trial and destroyed private and public property worth over a billion dollars.

To add insult to Kashmiris' injuries, India has, on one hand, been projecting Kashmiris' fully justified freedomstruggle on international level as a terrorist movement and on the other hand, not allowing international human rights, civil liberties and humanitarian organisations like International Commission on Human Rights, Amnesty International and International Red-Cross to send their representntatives to Kashmir to see for themselves what the reality was. Even representatives of world media are not allowed there. Nevertheless, some of them have succeeded in vesiting Kashmir in disguise and have despached horrible sories of Indian savagery there.

We appeal to the conscience of those governments, organisations and individual, speially politicians, religious leaders, writers and jourmlists, the worldover, who claim to be believing in human rights, human dignity, humanitarian values and in the right of self-determination of forcibly subjugated peoples, to raise their voie on international level, in the light of the afore mentioned facts, against Indian savagery in Kashmir and in support of 12 million Kashmiris, inherent, internationally recognised, pledged, and fully deserved but denied right of self-determination.



Major incidents of State Violence '88

June 10, 1988.

The Srinagar City Traders and Manufacturer's Federation had given a call for bandh against the "arbitrary and unjustified" rise in the power tariff. All through the day the youth and the police clashed all over the city. The police repeatedly used teargas and batons to disperse unruly mobs.

The youths stoned passing vehicles, hurled rocks on policemen, put road blocks and later tried to set the old Zainakadal wooden bridge on fire. To control the situation the police opened fire on the crowds in which three persons were killed.

Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq, Chairman of the People's Action Committee and one time ally of Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah, condemned the police firing as unprovoked and demanded a judicial enquiry. Six demonstrators were arrested and about 80 people were injured.

June 14, 1988.

The agitation against the proposed rise the power tariff continued all over the valley. Till the evening of June 13, the police had arrested 52 persons for alleged rioting. On June 14, in a pre-dawn swoop on opposition party activists the police arrested 39 persons, mainly youth from their homes.

At dawn the anti-rioting police assisted by the BSF cordoned off the old city portions which had been scenes of street battles between the police and the demonstrating mobs.

Mirwaiz Maulvi Farooq in a statemen claimed that the police had actually arrested 70 people in the pre-dawn swoop. The opposition parties in a statement accused the police of resorting to excessive use of force and inflicting atrocities on citizens.



Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
January 28, 1989.

Mobilisation of Security Forces in the State to combat activities of "terrorists"

As learnt from reliable sources measures have been devised to further tighten up security arrangements in the valley. Police patrol has been increased, strength of flying squads has been beefed up with most modern communication apparatus. A large number of police contingents has been trained in commando actions besides imparting training to over dozen police officers in bomb defusing technique. Press trust of India has gathered from sources of border security forces that security forces had been alerted to combat the activities of terrorists.



The Jang, Rawalpindi.
February 13, 1989.

Army was called in Srinagar and Anantnag as result of clashes between police and demonstrators.

Bomb blast -baton charge and tear-gasing 55 persons including 22 policemen injured.

Rawalpindi (monitoring desk). At Anantnag in the Indian held Kashmir fifteen persons including 22 policemen were injured in clashes between police and demonstrations following bomb blast. Three persons are seriously injured and some buildings were greatly damaged. According to all Indian Radio huge demonstrations were staged on the death anniversary of Mr. Maqbool Butt and the Army was called in Srinagar and Anantnag town.



Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
February 14, 1989.

Srinagar 13th February The violent demonstrators today removed and threw into the river the inaugural plaque from new Fateh Kadal bridge bearing date and name of Sh. Muhammad Abdullah affixed there at the time of inauguration of the bridge. Similarly the sign boards bearing pictures of Sh. Abdullah and Dr. Farooq Abdullah were removed from Naubatta and Safa Kadal localities in Srinagar.



Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
March 5, 1989.

Normalcy in Srinagar-stone pelting clashes and encounters in Islamabad.

Curfew in Baramullah, Para military troops round up sixty persons-tension prevails.

Situation in Srinagar was mostly normal today, however in Naubatta there was complete business shutdown. A youngman parvaiz Ahmad was killed by police firing on 3rd March. There was hung demonstration against this tragic incident. Some shops were also closed in Amera Kadal, Budshah Chowk and Gau Kadal. Curfew continued in Baramullah. During two hours break in curfew there were clashes between police and young groups in which stones were pelted on a military jeep.



Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
March 23, 1989.

Stone pelting incidents and tension in lower localities of Srinagar-28 persons hauled up- shops remained closed.

Violent demonstrations followed by stone-pelting on police parties continued on second day in lower areas of Srinagar city. Police resorted to baton charge and tear-gasing to disperse the violent demonstra'tors, shops remained closed and transport was suspended in Fateh Kadal, Bagh Dillawar Khan area.



The Pakistan times,
April 6, 1989.

Clashes in Srinagar: 3 injured

Three policemen were seriously wounded as a result of a bomb attack and shops remained colsed in Srinagar on the second consecutive day yesterday in protest against the actions which are continuing in connection with the investigations of bomb explosions.

On the second consecutive day yesterday there were several clashes between the Police and the militant Muslims demanding freedom.

The most serious among them was the one which a crowd of militant Muslims attacked a Police patrol party in old city area.

The Police according to BBC were surrounded by a large number of armed people and before it could defend itself two hand grenades were hurled on them.

According to a Police Officer, three policemen who were seriously wounded were admitted to Hospital.

The area has now been cordoned off and the policemen wearing iron Helmets are patrolling the streets and lanes.

Earlier, a car was badly damaged as a result of a bomb exploson.

The numbers of those wounded in several incidents on Monday was at least forty.

The Pakistan Times,
April 8, 1989.

Violence spreads in Held Kashmir: 150 injured.

At least 150 people were injured in different parts of India-controlled Kashmir as violence engulfed more areas on Thursday, the fourth day of the general strike.

According to reports reaching here today, the police fired several rounds of shots and lobbed more than 30 teargas shells after Muslim youths in Srinagar, capital of India-controlled Kashmir, heavily stoned police contingents there.

The youths hurled petrol bombs at the police and even opened fire with automatic weapons on police groups, the report said.

Shops remained closed in Srinagar on Thursday and vehicular traffic remained suspended in the city. The situation was tense in downtown area. In the curfew-bound town of.

Anantnag in south Kashmir, a police head constable, Mohammad Hussain, was injured when he was shot at by an unidentified person.

Indian police and army patrolled the town. The situation was officially described as under control.

Meanwhile, reports of widespread general strike were received from Baramulla, Sopore, Pulwama and Bijbehana townships where the police used tear-gas and stick-charged demonstrations.

The Nation, Lahore.
April 13, 1989.

H. Kashmir virtually "police state"

With the imposition of Section 144 all over Kashmir Valley entire Kashmir has been virtually turned into a "police state" by the puppet Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah as he has given the state police a free hand to let loose a reign of terror all over the troubled valley.

Muslim youths most of them in their 20s, have now been rounded up by the police on charges of "working at the behest of Pakistan-trained terrorists to create disorder in the state" have been shifted to police lock-ups and jails in far-off, hotter places in Jammu where most inhuman treatment is

meted out to them by the police. "The frushtrated and confused Chief Minister has warned only a couple of days ago that he was fighting a war with Pakistan.

Farooq Abdullah had also threatened that in case people did not give up sheltering the "terrorists" and continued helping them, he would "Raze the city of Srinagar to the ground".



Nawa-I-Waqat, Rawalpindi.
April 18, 1989..

Disintegration of India would begin from Kashmir- Dr. Farooq Abdullah.

Kashmir issue should be settled otherwise situation would deteriorate. (International Desk)

Dr. Farooq Abdullah Chief Minister Indian held Kashmir has said that he was on the hit list of separatist forces. They considered him a stumbling block in their way in an interview with Times of India he complained that all opposition parties and groups had ganged up against him and were supporting the separatist elements in the valley. He also accused Indian union ministes of working against him. He grumbled that although Kashmir held a special status in Indian constitution but was being meted out a discriminatory treatment by Indian Government. Only 30 percent of development funds were provided as grant and 70 percent of them were given as loan he added. He warned that Kashmir issue should resolved otherwise situation would further deteriorate. "Lest disintegration of India should begin from Kashmir". He cautioned.



The Nation, Lahore.
April 20, 1989.

Held Kashmir vagueness slides into terror

"Welcome to paradise" reads the banner greeting tourists who flock to the Andeur and Serenity of Indian Held Kashmir Valley high in the Himalayas.

But tourists are cancelling their trips in droves following April antigovernment riots that killed at least five people and injured hundreds more.

And many business men and politicians fear Muslim-majority Kashmir, where there is strong antagonism for Hindu-dominated India, is perched on top of a slippery slope into terror.

The parallel they draw is with Punjab to the south, where Sikh separatists are fighting a bloody war in which some 2,500 people were killed last year.

"Kashmir is now standing on a keg of powder. A Punjab situation could grow here," said Opposition politician Rashid Kabuli in a recent interview. "That is no exaggeration, youths are very angry. Tyranny has crossed the limit and revolt is the result," said senior Muslim cleric and Opposition party leader Molvi Mohammad Farooq. The rioting, met with massive police and army deployments, died down with the recent onset of the holy month of Ramazan, when Muslims fast during the day.

But former Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammad Shah, brother-in-law of incumbent Farooq Abdullah, told Reuters he and other Opposition leaders would launch protests for direct rule from New Delhi followed by fresh election.

"If we don't get that, further deterioration will take place and the Opposition wanting peace will become irrelevant because the militants will grow in strength day-by-day, he said.

Kashmir, over which India and Pakistan have fought two of their three wars, is divided between the two countries and Abdullah, chief Minister of the India Held Jammu and Kashmir State, blamed Islamabad for the trouble.

He told a news conference in New Delhi that Pakistan was bent on destroying Kashmir's tourist-based economy in hopes of alienating its people from India. If that is true, Islamabad made a good start.

One hotel owner said he had suffered 60 per cent cancellations in April, mostly from Indian tourists who last year outnumbered foreign visitors by some 700,000 to 50,000.

But ordinary Kashmiris, whose Hindu rulers chose to join India in 1947 when the subcontinent became independent of Britain, routinely refer to India as a foreign land.

Even businessmen from the minority Hindu community who regard Kashmir as an irrevocable part of India say they do not believe that Pakistan is fomenting the trouble. "Blaming Pakistan is okay as political jargon, but I am not a politician and so I don't have to believe it," said one Hindu businessman who supports Abdullah.

Businessmen and Opposition leaders said the problems of Kashmir, connected to the rest of India by a single road along which vital food must arrive and its famed wool products and handicrafts depart, stemmed from lack of development.

Communications are poor at best and people suffer frequent power cuts in a land rich in hydro-electric potential. "All this could have been solved

years ago" said Kabul, expelled from Avdullah,s National Conference Party in March for criticising his leader.

"Investment in power would have meant we could be exporting electricity to India and have industries based on it and on one would be talking about independence".

Instead, thousands of educated young people are jobless -a fertile recruiting ground for the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLE) which the government says organised the riots. "This is where the parallel with Punjab lies. That's where the Punjab problem started, among the jobless young", said the Hindu businessmen, who asked not to be identified.

Many Kashmiris accuse Abdullah's government of corruption with Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's Congress (I) Party.

Jessour family has always supported the National Conference. They'll get nothing more from us until they get rid of that disco Minister and our votes will go to the Opposition, said one wealthy Muslim businessman. Abdullah, reviled by opponents as a playboy, says corruption is a national problem and that he is committed to fighting it.

The JKLF is regularly accused by the government of planting bombs which have grown more frequent over the months. No one has been hurt in the blasts, laid in places and at times when no one was about.

Both government officials and the Opposition say it is still small group and that its ability to close down Srinagar, which it did for five days during the riot, stems more from bitter feelings against Abdullah and his Congress partners.-Reuter.



The Nation, Lahore.
April 21, 1989.

Concern over deportation of Srinagar detenus

The political circles and Seinagar Bar Council have expressed grave concern over a proposed ordinance, being promulgated by the State Government, which would enable the State authorities to deport numerous detenus to prisons and jails outside the State.

The Bar Council has described the proposed ordinance as "deconian" and a violation of the Constitution, which could least help improve fast deteriorating political situation in Kashmir Valley. The Council has decided to file a writ petition in State High Court against the ordinance the promulgation of which was threatened by the Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, on Tuesday when he was speaking at a meeting in Anantnag, 50 km south of Srinagar.

According to reports, most of the Kashmiri youths detained under Public Safety Act during last week's violent disturbances here have been already shifted to much hotter places in Jammu and Hira Nagar where, as the parents of many of them alleged, inhuman treatment is meted out to them which has resulted in their health deteriorating alarmingly.

The anti-India People's League and Liberation Front have, meanwhile, demanded that a judicial probe be conducted into mysterious death of the who died in police custody recently, sparking off violence all over the Kashmir Valley.

The Shahi Imam of Jamia Masjid, Delhi, Imam Abdullah Siyeh Bukhari, has also demanded release of innocent Kashmiri detenus. In a statement Imam Bukhari has blamed the State Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, for disorder in Kashmir who, as the Imam believes, has a miserable life under his "suppressive and oppressive rule".



Naw-i-Waqat , Rawalpindi
April 22, 1989.

Held Kashmir would be handed over to army-Rajiv Gandhi.
We would not perm, it intruders to engineer disorder.

Indian prime minister Mr. Rajiv Gandhi has indicated that held Kashmir would be placed under army control. Talking to newsmen he disclosed that Defence Minister and interior Minister had gone to Srinagar to discuss the matter with Farooq Abdullah.



India Today, Delhi.
May 31, 1989.

KASHMIR VALLEY OF TEARS

by Inderjit Badhwar

A tidal wave of protest that has engulfed the valley began to peak last week as a "Quit Kashmir" hartal paralysed life in major cities. Srinagar should have been bustling with tourists, but a graveyard-like silence took hold. The hartal was only the latest manifestation of a continuing agitation, separatist in its outward expression and pro-Pakistani in its extreme form. Demonstrations and police firings have claimed some 50 lives in the last year - more than in any period in the last two decades.

Not since August 1953. When sheikh Abdullah was arrested and jailed on subversion charges, and hundreds of people were killed or incarcerated as valley-wide protests erupted, has Kashmir seen such an outburst of separatist frenzy. As veteran Congress (I) leader Trilochan Dutta put it: "It seems as if the proplebiscite movement has been revived."

A deputy superintendent of police, in charge of one of the newly formed commando units, who had faced an irate mob in the old city's ghetto area in which several youths were injured in police firing, said: "They have lost their fear. They stand right in front of your guns and dare you to shoot them. How can you fight people like these? In the past the most they did was pelt stones or set off crude home-made bombs and then ducked for cover. This behaviour is new, it almost un-Kashmiri."

militants are rapidly becoming heroes and legends. And martyrs. Secretly admired not just by the streetwise lumpen of the cities' endleww ghettos, but also by intellectuals and businessmen who discuss their exploits over scotch and soda. Says Shariq Ali, an exporter of Kashmiri namdas and handicrafts: "We've always had a slave mentality. Now there's a secret feeling of pride that the staves are fighting back." In Kahnyar and Naidkadal, where a pitched battle took place April during a four-day hartal following the death of the father of people's League leader Shabir Shah in police custody, the "nawjawans" who had fired at the police with Kalashnikovs were carried on the shoulders of admiring mobs who showered them with kisses and milk in traditional Kashmiri revelry style.

There's a new feeling of machismo. A psychic compulsion that seems to override economic concerns about the effect of this new - fangled extremism on the valley's trade and commerce. Abdul Amin, a shikarawala on Dallake, says he used to take in as much as Rs. 300 a day during a good season. In the last 10 days he has made Rs. 50. Doesn't it anger him that the rowdies are hurting Kashmir's Rs. 500-crore tourist industry? Says he, phlegmatically: "It hurts, but what can you do. People are angry about corruption and police excesses. Unless there's a good, fair government, tourism will always suffer."

In Srinagar's Maisuma Bazar, Ashiq Hussein, 18, an unemployed son of a taxi driver went from hero to martyr in one year after the police held him in jail for interrogation for six months, suspecting him of manufacturing bombs. Two months ago, he was shot through the heart by a police bullet during a demonstration. His grandmother Rahti and his mother Hameeda, who live in a crowded tenement, still cradle his photograph and wail with grief. "He was a good boy," shrieks Hameeda. "He liked to play cricket and carrom. And just before he was shot he had been promised a government job. Life has become so cheap. We spit on Farooq Abdullah."

Maisuma is typical of Kashmir's ghettos. Serpentine alleys. Garbage-choked drains that empty into the Jhelum. Sheep, dogs, cattle mixing with children who tote toy guns. Suffocation. The locality is known for the bravery of its women who took to the streets for Sheikh Abdullah when he was battling the Dogra rulers and later, during the post-1953 plebiscite movement. If you said anything against the Sheikh's family in public, chances were you'd be lynched. Today the same could happen if you praise that family.

"Look around you," says Mazoor Ahmed, 28 a shopkeeper in the area. "For 40 years, despite promises, there's been no improvement. Everything is filthier, grimmer. There are no jobs. To enter engineering or medical colleges officials are bribed with Maruti cars. When we protest we are branded terrorists. Our MLA has not even visited us once."

"Why should he?" asks Jehangir Ahmed, 22, a student. "He stole our votes. This entire area voted in 1987 for a Muslim United Front (MUF) candidate. We wanted a change, an end to corruption. They captured booths ruthlessly and then arrested our candidate. They've ruined us. We will never forgive them." The refrain is universal.

Mohammed Yaseen Malik, 22, is also from Maisuma. He was a die-hard MUF activist during the assembly election campaign. He sports an Imran Khan hairstyle, and has intense burning eyes. He was involved in several protest demonstrations last year—was arrested, beaten up, viciously abused. He had a congenital heart ailment that needed treatment. When the authorities refused to get him medical help he went on a hunger fast which led to his release. He said in an interview shortly after leaving jail: "They called me a Pakistani bastard. I told them I wanted my rights, my vote was stolen. I was not pro-Pakistani but had lost faith in India." Today, along with Shabir Shah, Ashfaq Majid, Javed Ahmed Mir and Hamid Sheikh, Yaseen is on the police's most wanted list with a price of Rs.30,000 on his head. According to sources he has fled to a training camp in Pakistan-Occupied-Kashmir (POK).

Afzal Shah (not his real name), 22, is a tailor in Baramulla district. Burn marks on his left thigh administered by hot iron rods and cigarette burns on his forehead and left shoulder attest to his recent three months in police custody. He was arrested in Srinagar shortly after intelligence agencies identified him as having crossed the border last year for five-month training stint. He is now out on bail, and faces charges of crossing the border illegally. Police corruption in the state is so high that bail in such cases can be arranged for a Rs. 10,000 under-the-table payment to a local police official.

"I crossed over at midnight from the Uri border," says Afzal with a smile. Then his aquiline, Afghan-like features, nestling beneath a bush of curly hair parted down the middle turn dead serious. "It was easy, I paid a Gujjar tribesman Rs. 500 to show me the way. It was a long walk through the forest. "What did he do there? "Tailoring," he answers with a smile. Then, he adds quietly: "I gave the police no information. Absolutely nothing." Why did he cross? "They don't want democracy to survive here. So I have to support the Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF)."

ACCORDING to police sources, the two most active groups whose ideology alternates between seeking an independent Kashmir and aligning with Pakistan, are the POK-based KLF headed by Amanullah and the People's League. The die-hard anti-India ideologues are Dr. Farouk Hyderi and R. Muzzafar. These groups, so far unable to do more than engage in

cross-border propaganda campaigns through leaflets, received a boost after the 1987 elections when disgruntled youth who had been jailed before and after the campaign and who believed that the entire polls had been rigged against the MUF- the umbrella organisation of fundamentalists, disgruntled Congressites and anti-Farooq Abdullah and anti-accord forces-began crossing the border to enlist in these organisation.

But so far as Wazir Ahmed (not his real name) is concerned, "the battle for liberation" -whatever that might mean-has already begun. He is a rugged-faced youth of 22 with a scar across his forehead and wrinkles forming prematurely at the corners of his eyes. Wearing a crewcut and a denim jacket, he is known as a local "commander" in one of the old city neighbourhoods. On the Friday before Id, he comes to the Jama Masjid across the centuries-old Nawahatta chowk. Sitting on the masjid's sprawling grounds along weith some 2.5 lakh people gathered there, he says: "If they think they've captured all the guns, they're mistaken. "Is he ready to die? "Ofcourse," For Pakistan? "Not for Pakistan, not for India. For independence," Why not try the democracy you already have? "We've tried it. It doesn't work. For us, all politicians are fakes, liars, thieves, We will make sure that the entire valley boycotts the next election," Through violence? "If the need arists,"

It is obvious that even the moderate politicians-most of them opportunistic to the core-have sensed this feeling and, afraid of being rendered inconsequential, are trying to cash on it. On the day of the Jumma namaaz, Maulana Farouq, the Mirwaiz of the north, who had patched up with Farooq Abdullah for the 1987 election, and then broke with him a year ago thundered at his nearly three lakh congregation in Srinagar's Jama Masjid that the time had come for Kashmiris to "confront every oppressive move made by the Centre". And in a burst of oratorical fury he asked the Kashmiris to question whether they would spend their money on buying VCRs or guns.

The massive namaaz was preceded by the reading of an honour roll of the valley's youth who have been killed in police firings over the last few months. The Maulana calls them martyrs of Kashmir and the congregation prays for their souls.

Compared to the main shopping areas of Srinagar, the hopelessly congested and claustrophobic areas of Lal Chowk and Badshah Chowk, where khaki uniforms form the backdrop of every activity, the Zainakadal area is virtually free of police. Shopkeepers and artisans talk freely about creating Pakistan or 'liberrating' Kashmir.

Says Mushtaq, a shopkeeper, pointing to an unpaved road: "This is our parikrama leading to our Akal Takht. It is here that the Indians will have to mount Operation Red Star. But we are not afraid. When you come here next year you will have to bring your passport." And the crowd around him intones in chorus: "*Inshallah*."

Mention the names of Farooq Abdullah and the eyes turn murderous. "He is a disco dancer," they say. "He develops golf courses and artisans

starve, and he and his ministers steal all the money. And when we protest he shoots us and throws us in jail." And it is in neighbourhoods such as these in large parts of south Kashmir-in the Jamaat-dominated Sopore, in Anantnag, in the backward hill district of Kupwara where people eke out subsistence existences-that the youth have begun to form "suicide squads" aimed at ushering in what is being whispered about as a "Quit Kashmir movement".

Sub-groups, owing partial or organisational allegiance to the People's League and the KLF have emerged in the neighbourhoods: Al Jihad; Victory Commandos; Jaanbaaz Force; Maqbool Force. And taking a lead from Punjab, they have begun to issue regular press releases and even extortion notes. All this is a far cry from the traditional image of the Kashmiri-the man referred to by his masters as "hutton"(you there); the well-dressed dandy who could not even bear to see the sight of a slaughtered chicken.

Says People's Conference leader Abdul Ghani Lone who was himself once considered a radical firebrand: "The sad thing is that moderate leadership is now being finished. Our youths now prefer to listen to the sound of the gun rather than even to my voice. There are no longer any institutions here, no political heroes. "Some 40 per cent of the valley's population is between 20 and 30 years of age. Even during the Sheikh's time when agitations, like the one in 1964 following the theft of the Prophet's hair, turned virulently anti-Indian, stalwarts like Maulana Saeed of Gandherbal, and Moiuiddin Kara, and Maulana Masoodi, were able to contain it or change its direction. Today, these elders admit, they are unable to influence the youths who harbour a universal sense of betrayal by all political leaders.

Before the 1987 elections Qazi Nissar, the once-extremist preacher from Anantnag-the Mirwaiz of the south -was one such hero. A man to whom youths paid heed. Nissar had moderated his stand, joined the MUF and urged people to use the electoral process. He says: "The same youths I brought into the political process now abuse me. I do not know how to answer them. *Jab inko apni bhook aur izzat ka gussa ata hai to woh Pakistani nare lagate hain.* (Each time anger over injured self-respect or hunger-pangs wells up, they break into pro-Pakistan slogans). But their real anger is about jobs-every third person here is unemployed. About not being represented beyond Class IV employment in Central government departments. About rampant corruption and the failure of the Government to usher in any development. About the violation of civil rights. Kids below 10 have been arrested under the anti-terrorism Act.

But why all this anger now? Why do the Kashmiris rage? With subsidies close to Rs,800 crore a year, aren't they a spoiled, communal, fundamentalist lot? These troubling questions are being asked all over the country. There are no definite answers but the benchmarks and trouble spots are glaringly evident. The atmosphere in Kashmir today resembles that in Pakistan in the aftermath of Zulfikar Ali Bhutto rigging the election.

BEFORE, during, and after the election, party workers, polling agents and counting agents of opposition parties were arrested and jailed. Youths and students-in thousands-who demonstrated against the rigging were imprisoned or charged under various detention laws. Most Kashmiris who had simply not accepted Farooq's alliance with the Congress (I) - they considered it an opportunistic power grab-joined the MUF in a protest movement that was anti the Sheikh's family, and anti-corruption.

Farooq's government has routinely branded all protesters and demonstrators as fundamentalist and pro-Pakistani even though many of the demonstrations had clear economic reasons, such as last year's anti-electricity tariff agitation, and the agitation against the Government's import into the state of fungus-infested flour that resulted in thousands falling sick. Opposition politicians who agained under anti-terrorist laws. And as the Government began to lose its legitimacy Kashmiri youths began to see Farooq merely a willing instrument of undemocratic Central rule and the agitations began turning anti-India, they believe, discriminates against Kashmir because it is the only Muslim majority state.

Actually, the current agitation draws most of its support-as did the movement under Sheikh Abdullah in the past-from live districts: Karnah, Baramulla, Srinagar, Badgam, and Anantnag where the bulk of Kashmiri-speaking Muslims reside. As an ethnic or linguistic entity they number about 16 lakh of the state's 32 lakh Muslims. The rest are Gujjars, Pahadis and Punjabis from areas like Doda, Poonch, Uri and Karnah who have neither participated too avtively in the Sheikh's movement nor in pro-Pakistani stirs. The Sheikh, in fact, looked down on these groups because he feared they would dilute the numbers of Kashmiri-speaking Muslims.

But now, even Gujjars have started openly lambasting the current Government. Farooq's administration has been in a virtual state of collapse. His ministers have been charged with massive corruption and Central assistance has been looted, as Prem Nath Butt, a lawyer and leader of the 6,000-strong Hindu community from Anantnag put it, "by a coalition government of contractors, politicians and engineers. The bottom in Kashmir has always been solid. The rot has started at the top". While bridges, roads, culverts, hospitals, relief works, schools lie rotting, the state Government spends lavishly from Central funds on a golf course in Srinagar that despoils its forests and now cannot be completed even at a cost of Rs. 10 crore, and a cable car project whose cost is expected to exceed Rs. 40 crore. Both have become the symbols of elitism and of a government that wouldrather let its people eat cake. And while the ghettos of Srinagar, Sopore, Anantnag, Kupwara, Handwara fester-none of them has even a sewage system-in squalor, the beneficiaries of Central aid, forest lessees, contractors, government officials and politicians, build multi-crore villas in suburbs like Barzulla, Rajbagh.

The examples of corruption and waste of Central subsidies are endless: the Indira Gandhi Road from the airport incomplete after two years of work

and crores in expenditure; four of Farooq's cabinet ministers, including his revenue minister charged with corruption and nepotism-so far, no action; Rs. 60 lakh spent just two years ago on the public hospital in Kupwara which is now cracking down the middle; Central subsidies spent on the Jhelum Valley Medical College where people have been paying Rs. 2 lakh as the price for admission even though work is yet to begin; then the undoing of major reforms instituted by Governor Jagmohan-the cleaning of the Dal Lake, the fair recruitment board, the ban on private practice by government doctors, and pruning of the top-heavy bureaucracy.

For 22 years-from 1953 to 1975-the Kashmiris, led by Sheikh Abdullah, were fed on an anti-Indian political diet. Theirs was a massmovement for plebiscite. In the 1977 election Sheikh Abdullah campaigned covertly on a pro-Pakistani platform because he again felt deceived by the Centre after the accord of 1975. From 1983 on wards Farooq poured hatred on India. The Indian Government labelled him a corrupt man with terrorist leanings. Two years later he shook hands with Rajiv Gandhi and made an electoral alliance with the Congress(I) that totally confused and demoralised his followers who began to wonder what they had fought for all these years.

The reason that corruption, always endemic to Kashmir, has now become such a burning issue is that during the election campaign Farooq had told his people that the only reason he had shaken hands with Delhi was to usher in a period of speedy development and an end to corruption-electricity, drains, potable water. But Kashmir remains in virtual darkness as evening falls. Even important police stations near border areas are without light. The state's Uri Hydel Project barely works and transmission lines from the Salaal Hydroelectric Project have still not been laid. Kashmiris have not forgotten those promises. Today the family is as discredited in Kashmir as was that of the Shah of Iran before Khomeini's repression with the help of Delhi. The more unpopular he gets, so does Delhi, and the hope of Pakistan-offering political, psychological and mystical deliverance-dangled before the eyes of Kashmiris by most of their leaders, becomes more of attractive.

As Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, now with Janata Dal, said in an interview while he was still in the Congress(I): "My feeling after the election was that the Centre and Farooq may have won an election but they had lost Kashmir". Adds A.R. Kabuli, member of Parliament who was recently expelled from the NC: "I told Farooq during the elections, 'If you prepare yourself for defeat and accept it, you will be legitimate. If you steal the vote there will be hell to pay. Never before were our youths so heavily involved in an election. Many of the terrorists of today are the graduates of the rigged election of 1987'.

Today Sheikh Abdullah's cemetery near Hazratbal has to be guarded round the clock. As a policeman explained: "In the old days people placed wreaths here. Today there are people ready to disinter him. It's that bad".

Where once Farooq rode the shoulders of his people to perform Id namaaz at Idgah, today he is surrounded by thousands of securitymen and confines himself to Hazratbal from where he declares war. Any one with a gun, any one even standing near a person with a gun will be shot, he thunders. All hartals will be forcefully broken up "even if it means breaking your locks". And he threatens that Sringar may have to be razed to the ground as was Batamaloo by the Indian Army in 1965 when raiders entered from Pakistan.

But the words ring hollow. Bringing in more troops, more police, more preventive detentions-in the absence of a fair and just administration and a political solution-will simply, fan the winds of terrorism. The need of the hour is to restore the democratic process in the state by giving a fair hearing to the hundreds of election petitions that have been filed in court challenging the 1987 poll. And a state leadership must allowed to emerge that can communicate with youth and be committed to massive reform. Short-term manipulation to which Kashmir has always been subjected can only lead to a long-term loss. Barring a respite in 1977, Kashmiris have never been recklessly created and toppled by the Centre.

The silver lining throughout Kashmir's turbulent history is that the state, even as the rest of India burned in communal frenzy, never experienced communal violence except for a brief period in 1986 preceding Governor's Rule. Its religious tradition has been one of Sufi tolerance as against that of the Saudi-financed Jamaat-e-Islami that subscribes to the Wahabi belief of an Islamic state. The Jammāt's hold, however is confined to pockets in Baramulla, and it propagates its ideology mostly through fundamentalist schools run by a tax-exempt trust.

But now, as the moderate leadership declines and the hotheads take over, minorities are beginning to feel threatened. Says Dr. Avtar Krishan Ganjoo, a Kashmiri Pandit, who was municipal chairman of Sopore for nine years and who now runs a charitable medical practice right next to the Jamaat office: "The majority community has always respected us. But something in the atmosphere is changing".

If there is a major communal conflagration not just Kashmir but the entire country will burn. There is not much time left in which to stem the tide of extremism. And nothing will work as a better antidote to Pakistan and separatism than a heavy dose of Indian democracy. Otherwise the sentiment that Kashmir is denied its own leader because the rest of the country discriminates against it on the basis of religion will continue to gain currency.

And, no matter how irrational the vision, the youth of Kashmir will persist in the belief that their rights will be better safeguarded within a Muslim country like Pakistan. Kashmiri youths are beginning to learn from the tactics of Punjab militants. But the Government so far, unfortunately, seems to have become no wiser after the political lessons of Punjab. The ball today, doubtless, lies squarely in the Centre's court.

Frontier Post, Peshawar.
July 9, 1989.

INDIAN ATROCITIES IN KASHMIR

by S. Riaz Gillani

According to information reaching here from across the border, Indian-held Kashmir has virtually become a police state. Indefinite curfew has been imposed the Indian stooge government of the occupied territory, led by Farooq Abdullah. Kashmir valley has been handed over to the Indian army, security forces are patrolling the curfew-clamped area and intensive hounding operations are being carried out. Life has become miserable there. Hundreds of Kashmiri Muslims have been apprehended on the charge that they favour Pakistan. And they are subjected to brutal third degree tactics compelling them to current volcanic wave emerged in the valley when the central telegraph office in Srinagar was hit by a powerful bomb blast in August, 1988 which was followed by dozens of bomb explosions at many important places besides the restaurants and other busy spots of Srinagar. A few days back Kashmir Liberation Front called for a four day strike against puppet regime of the held state. The call was fully supported by seven other opposition parties. This call, as reported by news media, was so successful that in spite of hectic efforts of the government to make it failure, all the business spots remained closed and normal life was completely paralysed. Reuters reported killing of two persons by police firing when a group of 1,500 people attacked Srinagar police station on Friday, May 12. Reports reaching here say that after Friday prayers hundreds of Kashmiri youth took out processions in various localities of down-town and attacked public buildings and police stations by hurling stones. Having failed to disperse the processionists by baton-charge and teargassing, the police opened fire in Nalabar are causing death of two stooge government, especially the chief minister, repeatedly accused Pakistan of creating trouble in the held state. Farooq Abdullah alleged that Pakistan was imparting training to Kashmiri Muslims for the upsurge, and special training camps have been set up for this purpose in A.K. He also threatened the Kashmiri people to stop subversive activities, otherwise they could be thrown out of the state. He warned that Pakistan could lose Azad Kashmir if subversive activities were not stopped in the Indian occupied part of Kashmir.



August 25, 1989

The Jama Masjid of Srinagar was raided by the J&K police in an attempt to flush out militants and to seize illegal arms and ammunition which according to the police was being stored in the Jama Masjid by militants.

In the raid 250 persons were arrested which included minors under the J&K Detention Act. Later 198 persons were released. However, 52 of those arrested that day continue to be detained till date without trial.



The Nation, Lahore.
October 7, 1989.

MASS UNREST

by Brigadier (Retd) A. R. Siddiqi.

Imposition of president's rule in Indian-Held Jammu and Kashmir, now in the throes of a popular mass upsurge against the state and central authority, appears to be only a question of time. By all accounts given in Srinagar and New Delhi, it would be sooner rather than later-may-be by the month's end. At all events, before the general elections expected in November-December. Srinagar has been in the grip of mass unrest-touching the fringe of a populist revolt - for the past few weeks, more particularly since the arrest of young and dynamic Kashmir Liberation Front leader, Syed Shabbir Shah on September 28. Ladakh, it may be noted, has also been in the grip of Buddhist militancy- an unusual phenomenon- considering the unswerving Buddhist commitment to non-violence- but a grim reality just the same. The Buddhist demand a land of their own outside the state linked to Delhi in a loose, autonomous framework. The National Conference-Congress (I) Alliance-- a product of sheer expediency without a shared political ideology- faces the grim prospect of an imminent collapse. In fact, what has saved the unnatural alliance from extinction so far, has been Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi's fear of losing much of the Muslim support in the forthcoming elections and Chief Minister Dr. Farooq Abdullah's dread of an assured nemesis- the wrath of his own people once out of power. Most Kashmiris would openly question Dr. Farooq Abdullah's wisdom in joining forces with Rajiv when could have done much better on his own. A National Alliance and Maulana Farooq's Awami Action Committee's united front, would admittedly have been a much better arrangement to strengthen Dr. Abdullah's own hands. It was a pity he failed to see the wisdom of something as transparent as that. The Kashmir Liberation Front's call to rise against Dr. Abdullah's regime, besides acting as a catalyst for the present agitation, has also persuaded most politicians to eschew any politics altogether that might even slightly smell of a pro-regime bias. Urdu dailies almost every day carry notices titled "siyasat se subuk gosh" "Siyasat se Latauliki" (quitting or retiring from politics). In addition to the local anti-election front is also the power tussle between the union home minister. Butta Singh and the AICC-I, general secretary, Ghulam Nabi Azad. Butta Singh advocates president's rule in J & K to create what in his opinion would be the right setting for the establishment of unadulterated Congress rule in the garb of the President's rule. Azad for his part, is trying so hard emerge as the Kashmiri leader and hopes to exploit the "patronage potential" of central rule to muster support for the Congress (I) at the grass roots.

The Nation, Lahore.
October 8, 12, 1989.

KASHMIR VALLEY: THE EMERGING ALTERNATIVE

By Prof. Khalid Mahmud

The simmering unrest in the Kashmir valley has erupted into a mass upsurge defying the established pattern of political agitation. Violence is the new political weapon Kashmiris have learnt to use. The phenomenon of militant defiance of New Delhi's authority in Kashmir valley is a dramatic development which brings to the fore the abject failure of the Indian rulers to sell their package of secularism to the Kashmiri Muslims. Expressions of solidarity with Pakistan, though a recurring phenomenon, have of late become the hallmark of mass disturbances. Hoisting Pakistani flags, shouting pro-Pakistan slogans, rejoicing over Pakistani victories against India in cricket or hockey are a regular feature. It is not merely Farooq Abdullah's person who has fallen out of favour with the people, or his corruption, nepotism or mismanagement that has stirred public anger. The broader issue involved in the mass upsurge is rejection of the option the Abdullah family had stood for. The Muslims of the valley who had once reposed confidence in Sheikh Abdullah for his stubborn resistance to New Delhi and had continued to own his successor, despite his eccentricities and vacillations have closed the chapter of bargaining for a better deal within the Indian union. Farooq Abdullah has reached the dead end of his political career. He may still survive as one of the surrogates New Delhi has often used in the past to head puppet administrations but the days of his populist politics are certainly over. Farooq Abdullah, having outlived his utility for New Delhi is now being subjected to harsh criticism in different quarters. The favourite charge is, his inaptitude to deal with the militants; incompetence apart, he is also accused of vacillation and inaction. Ironically he is under pressure from both sides and in a desperate situation.

The young militants are a new phenomenon, popular and effective, but yet to develop into a viable political alternative for the Kashmiri Muslims. It may be too early to predict what shape their politics will ultimately take. Already branded as "terrorists" and Pakistani "infiltrators" they face an uphill task sustaining a noticeable level of resistance and evading the security forces. Their number is presently quite small and area of operation quite limited, but unlike the Sikh militant groups who have been terrorising the population to secure support, they seem to have unqualified and overwhelming cooperation of the people. "Kashmir is sitting at the brink of a volcano" feels Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, a former union minister and currently a Janta Dal leader. Kuldeep Nayyar, the well-known Indian journalist said on his return from a recent visit to the Indian-held Kashmir. "There is no doubt who calls the shots in Srinagar-the militants order or seem to order and the city obeys." The Kashmir Liberation Front (KLF) is said to be the most influential of the militant groups whose activists have been reportedly involved in bomb explosions and shoot-outs with police. Militant's 'Pakistan connection' has been the favourite theme of the Indian press. In a lengthy analysis of the Kashmir situation a columnist in daily

Tribune called it "anti govt. but not pro-Pakistan" and "more a bogey than a threat". Farooq Abdullah, having outlived his utility for New Delhi is now being subjected to harsh criticism in different quarters. The favourite charge is, his inaptitude to deal with militants. Mir Waiz Maulvi Farooq, at one time Farooq Abdullah's ally has become one of his bitter critics and friendly to MUF. Another significant development has been the emergence of the so called "fundamentalists". Hizb-i-Islami a small group representing this trend, has ordered "women observe purdah or face dire consequences". According to observers, the Kashmir Liberation Front and the Peoples League are the most significant of all the new political forces. The People's League led by 34-year old Shabir Shah stands for accession to Pakistan. The mass agitation in the valley which has continued intermittently following the 1987 state assembly election widely believed as rigged, is said to draw most of its support from five districts, Karnah, Baramulla, Badgam and Anantnag where bulk of Kashmiri-speaking Muslims reside. But now the Gujjars who live in the peripheries of the valley have turned against Farooq Abdullah's government. Even the police sources admit that there is a mini Pakistan in Srinagar, identifying four major areas -- Naidkadal, Rajourikadal, Khanayar and Borikadal. According to an Indian correspondent "There are scenes of pitched battles between police and mobs arising from stories of death in police custody, torture of suspects, etc.



Daily Samachar Post, Srinagar.
November 22, 1989.

EMPLOYEES REFUSE TO ACT AS POLLING OFFICERS WERE ARRESTED

Eighty government employees of the Kashmir regime were arrested because they refused to work as polling officers in the Lok Sabha elections.

The officials said that there was fear of being killed by the people and thus they would not work as polling officers.

80 of them were arrested in Anannag alone.

Daily Aftab, Srinagar.
November 23, 1989.

WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS SITUATION ? **Editorial**

"Maujoodah Soorat-e-Hal kay liyay Kaun zimmadaar hai",
translated from Urdu....

"The boycott by the people of Kashmir against the Lok Sabha elections is the direct result of the policies which have

been pursued in this land almost on every occasion when the elections have taken place. The behaviour of the ruling party in the past justifies the action taken by the people at the present juncture.

The people of Kashmir took part in the Lok Sabha elections in 1971. The elections of 1977 also show that people did not remain away from the elections. The people had started forgetting the irregularities in the elections in the past but the ruling party misbehaved in the elections in 1987. The ruling party mercilessly used the governmental machinery in the elections for its own ends, the wishes and the sentiments of the people of Kashmir were not respected and the ruling party did things which eroded the confidence of the people of the State in the election itself. The people of Kashmir do not believe that they can send to the Parliament those representative who command the confidence of the people. This is why the present boycott of the elections by the people of Kashmir is not an unexpected action nor can the accusation be made against the people that they have done a wrong act by the boycott."

Daily Aftab, Srinagar.
November 23, 1989.

INTERESTING FACTS ABOUT VOTING IN KASHMIR

"There was complete silence in the city of Srinagar where no voting was to take place, as the "candidate" had already been declared successful as nobody was ready to contest polls against him.

Reports from different towns and areas indicate that the voting was hopelessly poor. In Islamabad, the second largest city of Valley of Kashmir, a total of 3 votes was polled, in Sopore 8 votes were polled and in Baramullah, district headquarters, 21 votes were polled.

Liberation Front and the Hizbe Islami have congratulated the people of Kashmir for remaining away from the polling booths.

In Khrew polling booth, some armed youngmen went to the polling booth and snatched the polling box and other election material from the officials.

In Islamabad, a bier (taboot) had been placed in the central square with the banner: "For him who casts the first ballot".

In another place, Malik Naag, a colour TV set has been placed on the road, with the banner: For him who dares to vote". This is why in the biggest town of Kashmir Valley after Srinagar, the number of votes polled was only THREE.

Dally Soshni, Srinagar.
November 24, 1989.

BOYCOTT TANTAMOUNT TO PLEBISCITE

Muhammad Azam Inquilabi, the organiser of the "Operation Balakote" has thanked the people of Kashmir for a complete boycott of the elections to the Lok Sabha seats in Kashmir. He said that the boycott is an expression of the disagreement of the people of Kashmir with the so-called accession of Kashmir to India. Kashmiris have proved that they are not part of India and thus the recent non-election is a proof of the fact that Kashmir is not part of India.

Azam Inquilabi said that this in itself was a sort of plebiscite against India as Kashmiris have refused to vote for the Indian Lok Sabha.

Dally Roshni, Srinagar.
November 25, 1989.

ELECTION OR MALPRACTICES

Editorial

"Intikhabi Dhandliyan"

It is obvious that within two hours of the counting of the ballots in Islamabad and Baramullah constituencies, the result of the elections would be announced because even according to official estimates 4.5 and 5.3 percent of the voters have cast their votes respectively. That is to say, 5 percent votes have been cast in the two constituencies, while earlier reports had said that the polling was two percent.

In response to the boycott call by the youth, the people did not go to the polling booths and polling officers of the Government themselves cast the so-called votes. One of the ministers of State set up the polling booth in his own home and cast the votes himself. When the ruling party realised that the people were not coming to the booths to cast their votes, they decided to cast some of the votes themselves.

The ruling party of Kashmir is also well aware of the policy it adopted during the last election to the legislative assembly in 1987. The present attitude of the ruling party would be adding fuel to the fire, which would be fraught with very dangerous consequences.

Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
November 26, 1989.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ASKED TO ABANDON POWER

The Occupied Kashmir Muslim United Front cheif, Sheikh Abdurrashid, has congratulated the people of Kashmir on their succesful boycott of the elections to the Lok Sabha seats from Kashmir.

He said in a statement that the National Conference had been exposed by the boycott when it could not even influence 2 percent of the electorate to cast votes in favour of the Lok Sabha elections. It is therefore proper for the National Conference to voluntarily abandon power in the State.

Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
November 26, 1989.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE DISAPPOINTED

There is great disappointment in the rank and file of the ruling party of Kashmir over its failure in the Lok Sabha elections. The success of the three candidates in the elections, with the thumping majority of the people boycotting, has not been called a success but a defeat by the rank and file of the party.

The National Conference was popular in the Muslim majority areas of Kashmir once upon a time but its graph of popularity has gone down now. There is great disappointment in the rank and file over the manner in which the Lok Sabha elections were handled. Differences have cropped up in the party and many loyal workers have said that if the party is to be saved, Sheikh Farooq Abdullah and his associates must quit and make room for alternate leadership of the party.

Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
November 26, 1989.

VOTE CASTING COSTS HIM THE BRIDE

Rafiabad November 25. a youngman, Fayyaz Ghazi of Watarahgam, Rafiabad, committed the blunder of going to the polling booth to cast his vote in favour of a candidates of his choice. This happened on 22nd November.

The news of the would-be bridegroom, whose marriage was to take place on 25th November, 89, spread like wild fire in the locality. The would be in-laws of Fayyaz Ghazi also came to know of it.

The in-laws and all other relations got infuriated and so did the would be bride. It was decided by the would be in-laws that the marriage be cancelled and he was informed accordingly.

Some relations tried to intervene but without success. Thus the would-be bridegroom lost the would be bride for ever.

Kashmir Times, Jammu.
November 29, 1989.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE MPs - ELECT, ESTABLISH NEW RRECODS By Correspondent.

Srinagar November 28-Revenue Minister P.L.Handoo, who has been elected to the 9th Lok Sabha from Anantnag Constituency, has achieved the rare distinction of setting two new records, in the electoral history of independent India, which would be very difficult to be broken.

Ruling National Conference nominee Saifuddin Soze who got "re-elected" from Baramullah, comes close to Mr. Handoo's record by securing 93.78 percent of total valid votes "polled" in Constituency on Wednesday last. Mr. Soze secured 35139 votes out of 33466 valid votes. The Constituency which is spread over 13 assembly segments in North Kashmir, has a total electorate of 6,97,864 of which only 38291 votes were "polled". Mr. Soz's opponents in the fray, five candidates who contested as independents, were shown to have polled 2327 votes.

While Mr. Handoo secured the "highest" percentage of votes polled, 97.69 percent, he has also the distinction of having polled lowest number of votes in any election for the Lok Sabha in the entire country.

Mr. Handoo got 36055 votes out of the total 36907 votes which were declared valid by returning officer. In the sprawling Anantnag Constituency comprising 15 assembly segments, with a total electorate of 7,30,947 only 37377 votes "polled" on November 22. Of these 470 were declared as being invalid.

A comparative study of the Lok Sabha elections in the two constituencies from 1977 shows that performance of the National Conference has been at the lowest this time, with the boycott call, evoking unprecedented response. In 1984, 58.83 percent votes were polled in Baramullah with Mr. Soze polling 68.69 percent of votes as National Conference nominee, while in Annantnag Begum Akbar Jhan secured 58.51 percent of votes as National Conference candidate."

Srinagar Times, Srinagar.
November 29, 1989.

BANDOOQ BANAAM - E - SANDOOQ (GUNS VERSUS POLLING BOX)

"The militant organisations of Kashmir youth have given a call for boycott in the polling for Lok Sabha seats to take place today. The fight is between the Bandoq and the Sandooq that is, the gun and the polling booths. Even if 50 per cent voters in Kashmir stay away from the polling booths it would be a great defeat for the parties which are fighting elections in the name of democracy. This boycott would not take place only because of the call of the militant organisations, but because the people of Kashmir feel that a fraud has always been played with them in the name of elections and democracy. Kashmir is in India but even then it is deprived of democracy."

Wadi ki Awaz, Srinagar.
November 30, 1989.

ELECTION BOYCOTT IN KASHMIR

Editorial

Although the people of Kashmir completely boycotted the recent elections to the Lok Sabha, the central leaders of India and the so-called intelligentsia have adopted a meaningful silence over this boycott. There is no doubt that the Indian press often exaggerates every event connected with Kashmir, but it seems that notice of the boycott has not been taken. Otherwise this in the Valley is not a non-event. A serious discussion could have been started on the topic. Non-Kashmir newspapers from India have given the impression that National Conference candidates Piaray Lal Handoo, Saifuddin Soz and Muhammad Shafi Butt have just succeeded. People of Kashmir have to face great mental torture when the TV and Radio announce that three candidates of the National Conference have succeeded from the Valley. The Government has said that while the election in Srinagar was uncontested, five percent votes have been

cast in Bartamullah and Islamabad, while the fact is that not even one percent of the votes have been cast. The Central Government itself is aware of the same and the reports said to have been received by the Indian Government from its own secret agencies belie the claims of the officers who say that five percent votes have been polled.

If police is stoned in Kashmir, there is great hue and cry in India and when the entire Kashmir Valley boycotts the elections, nobody seems to care a hoot over it.

Technically speaking, Saifuddin Soze and Piyaray Lal Handoo have no right to represent the people of Kashmir in the Indian Parliament. It is therefore in the fitness of things that the elections of the three persons from Kashmir Valley be declared null and void.

In the past also, elections in Kashmir have been a farce. The State Legislative Assembly was also elected in the same manner in the past. It is not difficult for the Central Government to dissolve the State Assembly which was the result of a farcical election in March 1987. The time to impose agents on the heads of Kashmirs has gone and the Kashmiri people are not prepared to accept any leader who bargains about their future. Kashmiris are not goats and sheep. They cannot be exploited now.

*Kashmir Times, Jammu.
November 30, 1989.*

CONGRESS ACCUSED OF MANIPULATING RESULTS IN UDHAMPUR

-Sheikh Abdul Rahman, Janata Dal candidate, who unsuccessfully contested elections from Udhampur Lok Sabha Seat, today accused Congress of subverting democratic process in the State and also siding with the Kashmir Liberation Front and communalists to manouvre victory in the polls.

In a statement here, Mr. Rehman said that Congress had manipulated the elections results and used all sorts of opportunistic tactics on the poll-eve to garner support. On the political Front it sided with the Kashmir Liberation Front in Doda district and engineered bomb blasts on the eve of the polling day, on the other it played on the Hindu sentiments in Kathua and Udhampur districts. He said that even BJP had helped the

Congress.

Mr. Rahman said that the Congress candidate, with the help of the Returning Officer had manipulated the results. The pleas of recounting were not taken into account. On the polling day the Janata Dal agents were not allowed to enter the polling booths. the party agents were even barred from keeping watch over the ballot boxes which were brought by helicopter to the Counting Centre.

Kashmir Times, Jammu.
November 30, 1989.

WHOM DO THEY REPRESENT

Editorial

While the elections to the Lok Sabha in other parts of the country where the voters not only elected their representatives to Parliament but also gave a clear verdict for a change of the government at the Centre speak of the maturity of Indian democracy, it is unfortunate that the same is not the case in Jammu and Kashmir. In Kashmir valley where the ruling National Conference grabbed all the three-seat for all practical purposes it was an election without the participation of the voters. The entire election process was a farce and despite its best efforts and every kind of manipulation and stuffing of ballot papers at some selected places the turnout in Anantnag and Baramulla was less than 5 per cent. While in Srinagar the National Conference candidate was declared elected "unopposed" after the two pliant candidates, who had filed their nominations presumably at the instance of the ruling alliance, announced their withdrawal. In view of the call for boycott of the elections by militants the opposition candidates did not come forward to participate in the election process. It is as ridiculous as it is ludicrous on the part of the National Conference leaders to claim that the "success" of its three nominees in these farcical election reflected the people's will and a reiteration of the people's confidence in the major partner in the ruling alliance. The fact is that more than 95 percent of the voters in the Valley have expressed their disapproval of the ruling alliance and lack of confidence in its policies. The election results clearly speak of the extent of erosion in the base of the ruling alliance.

There is a sea change in the political climate in the valley, In 1984 elections to Lok Sabha the two alliance parties-National Conference and Congress-together had secured over 76 percent of the total votes polled in the six parliamentary constituencies

in the State. In Baramulla constituency the winning NC candidate had secured 69.69 per cent votes polled while in Srinagar the party nominee had romped home by securing 80.13 per cent of the polled votes. In Anantnag where the NC and Congress were pitted against each other the two parties together got over 97 per cent of the votes polled. As compared to this the two NC candidates declared winners from Anantnag and Baramulla in the present election could manage only about 4 per cent votes. Clearly neither the result of the present sham of an election reflects the will of the people nor do the "elected" members from the valley in any way represent the voters in their respective constituencies. Even if they have been declared elected under the present law and can legally claim to be the elected members of the Lok Sabha they have been morally defeated.

Mr. Abdul Rashid Kabli, former member of Lok Sabha, who was elected from Srinagar in 1984 election on NC ticket having secured 80.13 per cent of the polled votes, has urged the President not to validate the election of three NC members of Lok Sabha. There seems to be no precedent in this matter and even the law, as it exists, does not give any powers to the President to withhold validation of the election of any member, once he is declared elected by the returning officer concerned. But morally the NC members have certainly no right to sit in Parliament as the "duly elected representatives" of the people of Kashmir. If they believe in political morality. If they do not want to further provoke the people of the valley and if they do not want to further damage the cause of Indian democracy in Kashmir then these members should themselves submit their resignations. This will pave the way for fresh elections for three valley seats under normal conditions and in congenial atmosphere. Let the image of Indian democracy be not tarnished further in Kashmir.



Weekly Chatan, Srinagar.
December 3, 1989.

KASHMIR SLAP INDIAN DEMOCRASEY

By arranging a complete boycott of the the Lok Sabha elections, the people of Kashmir have rendered a slap on the face of Indian democracy. Says the paper: After the "accession" of Kashmir to India in 1947, elections to the local assembly have been held after

every five years. All these elections, except the one of 1977, have been farcical. The elections of 1977 were not a farce because the then Prime Minister of India, Morarji Desai was a man of principles. He gave a golden chance to the people of Kashmir to partake in Indian democracy.

The people of Kashmir have this time boycotted the elections to the Lok Sabha as the people of the State lost confidence in Indian democratic system. Srinagar was thus the only constituency in the whole of India where a candidate to the Lok Sabha was "elected" without contest. It was so because no other candidate wanted to contest elections in response to the call of the leaders of Kashmir for a complete boycott.

The call was successful in Baramullah and Islamabad Constituencies because no effective candidate was contesting against the ruling party, the National Conference, in these elections. Armed and other organisations had given a call for the boycott. There are places in the Valley where not even a dozen votes were cast. The top-ranking leaders of the ruling National Conference did not dare to visit the polling booths on the day of polling.

The boycott by the people of Baramullah and Islamabad in the recent elections is unprecedented in the history of Jammu and Kashmir elections. The call has been given by the Liberation Front, the Muslim United Front and the Awami Action Committee. On the polling day, there was a complete hartal in the two constituencies. In the town like Islamabad, Sopore, Baramullah, Shopian, Kapwara Handwaram Badgaam and Pattan, the hartal was so complete that it appeared as if curfew had been imposed on the localities. There was complete silence and gloom in the polling booths and polling officers started drowsing when nobody came to cast his vote in the ballot box.

The Chief Secretary of the Kashmir Government has admitted that polling in the two constituencies has been very poor. According to Government sources also, not more than five per cent of the votes have been polled. In the two constituencies, the ruling National Conference could not even get polling agents for its candidates because of the extremely successful boycott by the people.

Kashmir Liberation Front and the Peoples League have congratulated the people of Kashmir for the successful boycott.

It is thus unbecoming of Piyaaray Lal Handoo and Saifullah Soz to claim the representation of their constituencies.



The New York Times,
December 15, 1989.

RADICAL HEARTEN MANY IN KASHMIR

by Barbara Crossette

On the night Rubiya Sayeed, Home Minister Mohammed Sayeed's daughter, was released by the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front in return for the freedom of five imprisoned militants, Ishtaq Mohammed Butt was on the street in a frenzy of joy and excitement, one of thousands.

"This is the happiest day ever in Kashmir", he said.

Mr. Butt, a 26-year-old laborer, was not celebrating Miss Sayeed's release. He was welcoming back to the cause the five Kashmiri Militants, who are fighting for separation of this Muslim valley from the rest of India.

"We have seen slavery, and we want freedom", he said. "These people will decide our future". He asked for a donation for "the mujahedeen," Islamic holy warriors.

The next morning, Nazir Ahmed, an unemployed man in his 20's idling away his time around a city mosque, explained why he supported the militants.

Kashmir's Fierce Nationalism:

"I can find no job, no place in a college", he said in English, evidence of good secondary school education. "People from outside the valley take our work and our college places by paying bribes. In all of history, we have never had so much corruption, and suffered this way. The mujahedeen will give us back our rights".

Yasim Ahmed, in his 40's, nodded in agreement. For five years Mr. Ahmed, the father of four children, has been out of work. He and many others blame the state government of Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, the son of a Kashmiri hero, the late Sheik Abdullah, who went to jail for his nationalist views.

Two years ago, Dr. Abdullah, a physician who inherited from his father the leadership of Kashmir's most powerful party, the National Conference, joined in coalition with the Congress Party of the former Prime Minister, Rajiv Gandhi, to keep power.

To Kashmiris, India is another country. So fierce was their nationalism at the independence of India in 1947 that a special section, Article 370, was written into the Indian Constitution to protect their rights, including the right to fly a Kashmiri flag in place of an Indian one.

Assertions of 'Reign of Terror'

The New Delhi-based Congress Party, apparently the dominant partner in Dr. Abdullah's government, began to make decisions about Kashmir's fate and failed to deliver on promises of economic development and better links to the outside world, prompting many Kashmiri nationalists to drift toward more radical politics. They found the Islamic militants.

"New Delhi has dominated and isolated the people of Kashmir, and has shown a lack of trust in us", said the Moulvi Mohammed Farooq, the Mirwaiz, or spiritual leader, of Kashmiri Muslims and head of a Muslim political-action group. There are other moulvis, or mullahs, in Kashmir, but the Moulvi Farooq, the fiery preacher at Srinagar's largest mosque, commands a large and passionate following.

Accusing Dr. Abdullah, whom he once supported, of introducing a "reign of terror" over the last two years, the cleric said that he would never forgive the Chief Minister for sending troops into his landmark mosque, the Jama Masjid, on Aug. 25.

"With their shoes on!" he shouted in rage in an interview at his Srinagar home.

"They besieged the mosque, and they took away 52 young men," he said. "They called them terrorists!"

"One girl was held hostage here, and everyone is watching," he said. "But where are the civilized nations when our boys are taken away? More than 500 people are languishing in jails. Does the world know anything about us?"



December 17, 1989

Paramilitary forces began "combing" operations in the valley. The youth had come out on the streets of Srinagar protesting against the "combing" operations. This led to clashes and the mob had resorted to stone throwing. When the paramilitary (CRPF) forces chased the youth one boy fell into Jhelum river near Chattabal in the outskirts of the city. Eye-witness accounts say that the boy could not swim and his cries for help were not heeded by the CRPF Jawans. Whenever the boy tried to get to the shore the gun wielding cops pushed him into the river. As a result he drowned. The Police, however, denied the allegation saying that the CRPF did not realise that the boy could not swim.

Muslim Islamabad
December 18, 1989.

A MUFTI FOR MUSLIMS

By Ghani Jafar

The three 'elected' Muslim members of parliament from the occupied territory have remained in hiding from their electors. They are too afraid to appear in public. They are, however, expected to take an appearance in the Lok Sabha at Delhi on Monday to take oath as elected members. As for the only 'Kashmiri Muslim' in Mr. V. P. Singh's parliamentary party, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed's parallelism with the Zail Singhs and Buta Singh of the estranged Sikh Community is indeed striking. It is, therefore, not surprising in the least that the Muslims of occupied Jammu and Kashmir whose interests—as also the interests of the entire Muslim minority in India—the new Home Minister is supposed to represent, should have acted so swiftly to expose his credentials through his daughter's kidnapping episode. What makes Mr. V.P. Singh's government different from that of his predecessor is the marked change in style but not of substance. The larger national goals remain the same. If Mrs Gandhi had found a Zail Singh to preside over the State's onslaught on the beleaguered religious minority of Sikhs in Indian Punjab, Mufti Sayeed fits in perfectly well for the dirty job which the Indian establishment now appears to be bent upon carrying out with regard to Muslims in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. If Mr. Rajiv Gandhi had found a Buta Singh supposedly representing the Punjabi Sikhs as the Union Home Minister, Mufti Sayeed is Mr. V.P. Singh's answer to the lack of Muslim representation in his government. If Buta Singh not elected from a non-Sikh parliamentary constituency outside his home province of Punjab, Mufti Sayeed too has returned to parliament from a Hindu-majority constituency in Uttar Pradesh. Too bad for Mr. Singh, though, that the JKLF has practically made a non-starter of Mufti Mohammad Sayeed in the role assigned to him. The current stage of Kashmiri Muslims' freedom struggle in the Indian-occupied territory has acquired dimensions which call for most careful and calculated policy-adjustments by Islamabad. In this context, it would be well worth remembering that the undercurrents of insurgency in north-west India of today are increasingly forming a joint stream of Sikh secessionism in Punjab and Muslim militancy in occupied Jammu and Kashmir. Pakistan may soon find itself confronted with a open choice. Till then, no options should be foreclosed with reference to the purely internal and intertwined dynamics of the Sikh and Muslim movements in areas adjoining the country. It does, however, appear necessary to review the wisdom of delaying any further the question of bringing Pakistan's Northern Areas fully into the national mainstream.



THE NEW YORK Times,
DECEMBER 18, 1989.

NEW DELHI DEPLOYING TROOPS IN AN EDGY KASHMIR

By BARBARA CROSSETTE

- The strategically important Kashmir valley was under curfew for the third day today as the Government moved in troops and put armored personnel carriers on the streets of Srinagar to prevent pro-independence demonstrations.

In the winter cold, people are being prevented from leaving their homes to get food and fuel, a Muslim religious leader, Mohammed Farooq, said in a telephone interview today from Srinagar, the summer capital of Jammu and Kashmir state.

Kashmir is the Muslim part of the state, and the imposition of virtual martial law followed several days of public celebrations over the freeing of five imprisoned separatist militants. They were freed in return for the release of Rubiya Sayeed, the daughter of India's new home Minister, Mohammed Sayeed. Miss Sayeed, 23 years old, was freed on Wednesday, five days after she was kidnapped by the militant Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.

The extent of popular support for the pro-independence militants has apparently shocked the Government. But the armed response has further embittered Kashmiris.

The situation in Kashmir now over-shadows that in Punjab, where Sikh separatist movement has been gaining support in the last five years.

The Punjabi situation was discussed today by an all-party panel called by the new Government of Prime Minister V.P. Singh as a first step toward finding a political solution to the violence that has taken thousands of lives since 1984. But hopes for the meeting were undercut by the refusal of two Sikh leaders to attend.

One was Simranjit Singh Mann, whose faction of the Sikh party United Akali Dal won nearly all the parliamentary seats from Punjab in the national elections in November.

Mr. Mann won his own seat of Tarn Taran from a prison in Bihar State, where he was being held on charges that he was part of the conspiracy to assassinate Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, who was shot by Sikh body guards in 1984. Mr. Mann was released after his election victory.

Mr. Mann and Prakash Singh Badal, leader of another Akali faction and former Chief Minister of Punjab, made a number of demands on the Government in return for their participation.

They included the release of all Sikh detainees and punishment for instigators of attacks on Sikh neighbourhoods in Delhi that left several thousand people dead in the days after Mrs. Gandhi's death.

While New Delhi has been focusing on the Kashmiri crisis and a new initiative on Punjab, talks have also been going on in the southern state of Tamil Nadu with leaders of the Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam, the Sri Lankan guerrilla organization that has been battling an Indian peacekeeping force in Sri Lanka since the summer of 1987. At a news conference in Madras today, Anton Balasingham, who has been conducting talks with the Sri Lankan Government, said the Tigers had changed their preference for a oneparty Marxist state after recent changes in Communist nations.

"Now we support a multiparty political party system and we want all the political parties to freely campaign and contest elections," he said.



*Muslim, Islamabad.
December 20, 1989.*

INTIFADA IN KASHMIR

By Ghani Elrable.

The Resistance in occupied West Bank and Kashmir has made note of the fact that the Afghan Mujahideen rose in revolt without waiting for any sophisticated equipment to arrive; for three long years they fought against a modern superpower with World War I vintage Enfield rifles and denied it the quick victory it had banked on; and it was only after they had awed the world with their valour and willingness to lay down their lives that outside help began trickle in. Their success appears to have kindled the same spirit in Gaza, west bank and Kashmir; in all places, the control of the freedom movement appears to have passed over from the old generation to the new; and paradoxically enough, the new generation seems to be seeking inspiration, not from the French Revolution but from Islamic renaissance; and the new Muslim youth is so highly motivated, determined and impatient that he has refused to wait even for an Enfield rifles to arrived and has taken to the streers with wayside stones for missiles. In the hands of dedicated demonstrators, frequently no more than 12 to 14 years old, even stone-throwing has begun to take a heavy toll of Israeli morale. In the past two weeks, three Israeli soldiers involved of 26 the intifada have past 10 years ... on the streets, there is an atmosphere of hopelessness among the soldiers. They know they can't win. The intifada is an idea; and we cannot kill an idea. "The same is true of Kashmir. What is happening in Indian-occupied territory is just as amazing, if not more. The state that once temporised, leaned towards secularism-worshipped Sheikh Abdullah and acquiesced in his decision to accede to India, appears to have made a 180-degree turn-around; and the people who once were viewed as too peace-loving, passive, or apathetic even to raise their little finger in protest against any wrong-doing, are now up in open revolt against Indian occupation aggressively

challenging its right to rule, questioning the validity of the accession and sidelining all parties who have collaborated has passed on to militant youth who favour either accession to Pakistan or an independent Kashmir and so complete is their hold on the common people that the moment they signal a protest strike, the whole state shuts down, all life comes to a stand-still and there is not a thing the administration can do about it. Reports from independent sources offer a graphic picture of the Kashmiri's militant mood. A Reuter despatch from Srinagar, published in the press on December 16, said: "An independence movement in Kashmir appears to be gathering steam after the government gave into KLF demands and released five militants ... The release was greeted with jubilation in the streets of old Srinagar and crowds ransacked 20 ruling party offices. People danced and sang on the narrow streets, shouted rude anti-India slogans and waved the green flag of Islam ... The militants' campaign for liberation has grown steadily more powerful over the past year... The Valley is rocked almost daily by bomb attacks on government buildings and the homes of officials ... Several political leaders have been assassinated, Kashmiri's routinely talk of India as if were another country". Reuter quoted a Kashmir university student as declaring: "It is our right to choose India, Pakistan or independence; that is why we first want India out." He said, "militant groups were buying weapons from regional arms bazars and would eventually declare war." Asked how the Kashmiri's could fight the Indian army, the militant youth countered: "How could the Afghan Mujahedeen fight a superpower like Soviet Union, Allah will support us." Inspired by the Afghan Jihad, the resistance movements in Indian-held Kashmir and Israeli-occupied West Bank have taken a dramatic new turn, with indigenous militancy threatening to escalate into full-fledged conflict. While the world, under US initiative, has taken upon itself to evolve an acceptable formula to tackle the West Bank crisis, it has so far paid little heed to the equally explosive situation in Kashmir. The United Nation is as much committed to the Kashmiris' right of self-determination as to the Palestinians and both pose an equal threat to peace in Asia. While India's new Prime Minister is undoubtedly a man of vision, his political dependence on Hindu fundamentalist group like the Bharatiya Janata Party severely limited his options, making it impossible for him to exhibit the sort of flexibility or statesmanship that the European leadership is showing in re-drawing the map of Europe in recognition of new realities. Whether Pakistan assists the Kashmir resistance or not, it is going to be accused of it and confronted with increasing Indian hostility. Pakistan would be well advised to meet the new Challenge with a prudent mix of political statesmanship and military preparedness.



*India Today, New Delhi .
January 15, 1990.*

STARTLING SCENARIO OF KASHMIR

NEW DELHI - The paralysis hits you in the gut the moment you step out of the near empty flight. The once-bustling airport lounge is virtually deserted. The arrival area gives the impression of a military airbase, with armed troops and vehicles waiting to escort visitors, mostly officers of the Government, uniformed armed forces personnel or their families. The ubiquitous, glib tour operators and hotel-house-boat agents are no longer there to lure tourists to the now empty hotels. But a few miles out on the road, and the silence of the graveyard can suddenly yield to a cacophony of war cries. Both the silence and the commotion testify to one common fact-the state of siege under which the militant movement holds the Kashmir Valley.

Over the decades the ordinary Kashmiri had become inured to the phenomenon of latent political discontent frequently spilling into the streets. But in the past few weeks, he has not just been a witness, he has also been a participant in the protest movement, and increasingly with a new spirit of defiance. "In the past you fired one shot in the air and they disappeared. Today you kill one demonstrator, then a second, and yet the mob keeps coming at you. Finally you withdraw," says an exasperated Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) official. A veteran of many pitched battles with mobs in Assam, Gujrat and Punjab. "People have lost their fear. This is a definite new breed of Kashmiri," says another senior official.

The "new, defiant breed" signalled its arrival by hitting the streets of Srinagar and other major valley towns including Anantnaga, Sopore and Baramula. Boldly, they defied the State Government even as it flew in plane-loads of paramilitary forces-taking their strength up to 85 companies and called out the army repeatedly. For a whole fortnight, the valley was totally paralysed, either by militant sponsored hartals or by curfew. Police firings claimed at least 20 lives even as Government buildings burnt or were rocked by blasts.

J. N. Saxena, the newly-appointed director-general of the J & K Police, who was till recently the head of the Intelligence Bureau, [IB] in the State, describes this as one of the most serious crisis in Kashmir's history.

The Government is on the defensive. "50 per cent of the State authority is already in our hands," boasted 'Air Marshal' Noor Khan, the head of the militant group "Allah Tigers" proclaiming

Mujahideen. "You Indians had better roll up your holdalls and leave with grace," he said in the course of an interview conducted in the heart of Srinagar.

An exaggerated claim no doubt, but not totally without foundation. A fortnight ago, the self-styled Air Marshal walked into the bars of Centur and Broadway, the two most important hotels in Srinagar, and ransacked the furniture and liquor stocks, while guards stood by. From that moment, all hotels stopped serving liquor. As word spread, other bars and liquor shops pulled down shutters. Across the Valley, liquor shops have put up banners announcing, that they are to soon reopen-as electronics or textile shops. The militants next targets-cinema halls, video shops and beauty parlours-too got the message quickly. Each of the valley's cinema halls is now closed. It is impossible to get a film on video cassette. Shopkeepers have dumped loads of playing cards, also proclaimed un-Islamic, in garbage-heaps next to their shops for the militants to see. In the heart of north Kashmir, on the outskirts of the town of Handwara near Baramulla, Heemal, a swanky new cinema hall, is being converted into a cold-storage. The other cinema-owners, their efforts with the militants to buy their way out of trouble having failed, have another problem. They have to scrounge enough money to either absorb the cinema staff in other businesses or give them an immediate compensation of Rs. 20,000 each. Even the hotels are much too petrified to show any thing besides Pakistan Television plays on in-house videos.

Each morning the evidence of the militants power stares out from the pages of the major Urdu dailies. There are scores of advertisements from scared Kashmiris disclaiming links with the liquor trade or the ruling National Conference party. Others apologise for having had links with intelligence agencies and communists or for the "capital crime" of having voted in the last Lok Sabha elections, defying the militants boycott call.

Sitting in Srinagar's police control room, the nervecentre of the State's besieged law-and-order machinery, a senior officer wonders whose Government it is any-way. When the state imposes curfew, there is widespread defiance. When the militants call for *hartal*, no one stirs out. The militants groups latest target has been "Indian" banks. Following their call, thousands have already closed their accounts in banks other than the J&K State Bank. Only one factor holds up a devastating run on the nationalised banks: they have all been closed because of strikes or curfew.

December 15 was the last date for companies to file advance tax. This yer, not even a fraction of dues has been paid. "The way things are, income tax collections from the valley this year won't

even be half of "the annual average of Rs. 30 crore," says a senior Finance Ministry official.

"I have never seen such a mood in my career," says a J&K police officer as he tiptoes from one alley to the other in the city's trouble-prone Batmalloo area, clutching his .45 revolver. In his 24 years as a policeman in the State, he never carried a weapon and took pride in the fact that all he needed with the gentle people of Kashmir was a lot of tact and his swagger stick. Today, it's a different story. The gun is loaded, the safety-catch off and his finger ever on the trigger.

Even that is not of much avail. Time and again, mobs challenged the gun, defying policemen to fire at them. In scenes that were chillingly reminiscent of the video clips of Palestinian demonstrators teasing Israeli troopers on the West Bank, angry mobs led by women and children spilled into streets beckoning policemen to fire. Policemen who drew a little, fired in the air and yet the mob kept coming, chanting "Indian dogs go back" and *Azadi ka Matlab kya, La Ilahilallah*. [What is the meaning of freedom—there is no god but Allah].

Whether in Srinagar's Rambagh, Batmalloo, Zainakadal, Habakadal and Safakadal or in Anantnag, Baramulla or Sopore, the pattern was the same. "What the hell do we do with this situation," said an exasperated CRPF havildar Ram Ashrey Singh, "If we shoot effectively, there will be Jallianwala Bagh [Amritsar] each time. If we don't, they say the police are scared of them."

Every new "martyr" means a namaz-e-janaza (funeral prayer) from the mohalla's mosque, which inevitably results in an angry mob resulting in more firings, more martyrs and more mobs. As a build-up to urban insurgency, there couldn't be a more vicious cycle.

It is in this hopeless scenario: that thousands of men of the police and paramilitary forces struggle against what is blowing up into a mass upsurge backed by militancy. The newly-appointed lacking leadership and direction either at the tactical or political level, the policemen often look like stragglers or at best like hopless firemen scurrying from bushfire to bushfire, while the whole mountain is ablaze. There is no concerted, coordinated gameplan to take up the challenge and with each passing day, the militants are upping the ante.

With the situation sinking to new depths last week, the Centre was finally showing some sense of urgency. Director of Intelligence Bureau R. P. Joshi was sent on a fact finding mission which was also aimed at shoring up the flagging confidence of his own men after militant attacks on them.

In today's Kashmir, that approach is hopelessly myopic. Separatism has always been a popular concept in Kashmir. But the curx of the current problem is the total annihilation of the old-fashioned, ballot-oriented political leadership. Noteven the supposed extremists of 1987 like Qazi Nisar and Abdul Ghani Lone seem to matter any longer in the Valley. "We are not relevant at all. No one talks to us. No one listents to us. You all are up against an idea which is supported by the gun and believed by the people," says former Chief Minister Ghulam Mohammad Shah.

There could be some merit in saying that the Centre must back Farooq, because he is the only Kashmiri leader who stands openly by the State's accession to India. The tragedy is, he is not a leader any more.

The disenchantment reflects in the statement of taxidriver Mohammad Shafi: "G. M. Shah was a CCM (Curfew Chief Minister). [Dr.] Farooq a DCM (Disco Chief Minister). Next will be an ECM (Emergency Chief Minister). And, finally, there will be an ICM (Independent Chief Minister). It is the hatred for the Sheikh Abdullah family that best symbolises the mood. "More than 1,500 people died the day Sheikh Sahib was arrested in 1953," says G. M. Shah, who is Sheikh Abdullah's son-in-law." Today, soldiers have to guard his musoleum so that people won't dig out his body and throw it into the Jehlum.

"In the backward district town of Kupwara, a string of curses erupts from the mob at the bus stand the moment the Sheikh's name is mentioned. "He sold us Kashmiris for money and to make his son the crown prince," says Mohammad Maqbool Mir 46, a lawyer, and the crowd intones: Laanat, laanat (shame, shame).

Nearly all the young men on the wanted list today were guarding ballot-boxes for the Muslim United Front (MUF) candidates in the last election. "For once people thought of integrating with the Indian mainstream through elections. But they were robbed. You can't steal our votes, thrash us with lathis and say 'come' join up with me," says Abdul Majid Banday, 37, Editor of Handwara weekly Tameel-i-Irshad. Echoes lawyer Abdul Hamid Lone, 36: "Indian democracy was stripped naked in the polling booths of KASHMIR. There is no democracy this side of Banihal."

Even in Trehgam, the teeming village in northern Kashmir, where the Kashmir Liberton Front first took roots in the oversized log-hut of Maqbool Butt, hanged for the murder of a policeman, the same sentiment is echoed. One of Butt's younger brothers is currently in jail and the youngest Zahoor Butt says he is ready to die

as "one has to die some day anyway". "What happened to those who trusted Indian promises and voted the last time?" He asks. Adds his cousin Shoaib Mohammad Shah: "Indians cannot even call us anti-national. We have no nationality as yet, how can we be anti-national?"

There is no wishing away the reality-the roots of this motivation lie in the sequence of events in 1974 which led to the accession of the state to India-and the new Government at the Centre has to quickly learn to live with the situation. There is not much by way of concessions the Government can make to the militants when there is already widespread questioning by the BJP of the special status accorded to the state under Article 370 of the Constitution.



New York Times.
January 22, 1990.

INDIAN ARMY OPENS FIRE ON KASHMIRI PROTESTERS

by Barbara Crossette

- The Indian Army opened fire today in clashes with demonstrators defying a curfew in the Kashmiri city of Srinagar, and at least 35 people were killed and 100 wounded, Indian news agencies reported. If the death toll is confirmed, the violence would be the worst reported in Jammu and Kashmir, the only state with a Muslim majority in predominantly Hindu India, in the nearly two years since a resurgence of secessionist sentiment began.

The army's introduction into the conflict, with orders to shoot on sight, was the first widespread use of troops reported in Srinagar. It suggested that the troops of the Central Police Reserve Force, a national organization used in troubled areas, has been unable to contain rapidly growing separatist sentiment in the Kashmir Valley.

Srinagar, the state's summer capital and one of India's prime tourist areas, has been under a curfew since last month. But crowds have been surging into the streets to defy federal and state police forces charged with enforcing it, residents of the city say.

The demonstrations are leading up to a public display of anti-Indian feeling planned for the country's most important nation holiday, Republic Day, on Friday.

Indian television reported that in the clashes today the troops were responding to "pilling" by mobs in parts of the city.

[Thousands of Muslims thronged the city, shouting pro-independence slogans and reciting Koran verses, Reuters reported from Srinagar, quoting witnesses. The agency reported that troops fired guns and tear gas to enforce the curfew and that soldiers in some quarters of the city came under fire from militants. It said riots had erupted in the city on Saturday after India security forces raided homes, arresting at least 300 people.]

The unrest in the Kashmir Valley was fed by dissatisfaction with the state government under Chief Minister Farooq Abdullah, who resigned on thursday night.

Dr Abdullah stepped down after the Singh Government, which took office last month, announced the reappointment of a former governor, Jagmohan, for Jammu and Kashmir state. Mr. Jagmohan served as the state's governor from 1984 until last year. Arriving in Srinagar today to take up his post, he began appealing to Kashmiris in radio broadcasts to help him restore order.

The national Government has taken control of Kashmir under a constitutional known as governor's rule.

The new Governments in New Delhi and Jammu and Kashmir face a critical situation that by most accounts was allowed to deteriorate and drift in the last years of Rajive Gandhi's Administration. Mr. Gandhi's Congress Party had clung to power in the state through an alliance with Dr. Abdullah's National Conference, a Kashmiri parity.

The coalition, formed by the Congress Party and Dr. Abdullah in a 1987 election that was locally regarded as having been rigged, soon lost the confidence of other strong local parties, disaffected residents of the vally began to sympathize with, if not actually support, the armed resistance groups.

Parts of Kashnir are claimed by both India and Pakistan. Both countries keep large forces on either side of a United Nations line of control that serves as a border, and they have occasionally exchanged fire.

Some of the Kashmiri guerrilla groups are pro-Pakistani and militantly Islamic. Pakistan denies any official role in the state's problems, but leaders of Pakistani Kashmir acknowledge a willingness to assist rebels on the Indian side of the boundary.

The United Nations says that India has refused for 40 years to allow a plebiscite on Kashmir's future.

Western diplomats here say that while Pakistanis in Government or the opposition may use the Kashmiri issue for domestic political gains, playing on a deep distrust of India, there is no evidence that Islamabad is to blame for fomenting the trouble, which has indigenous roots.

The New York Times International
January 23, 1990.

Kashmiris Clash with India Troops for Second Day

By Sanjoy Hazarika

Bitter clashes between Indian troops and proindependence crowds defying curfews continued for the second day today in Kashmir, where the death toll is said to have risen to around 50, reports from the area said.

At least eight people, including two policemen, were killed in the clashes today, and a brief but serious confrontation was reported between the local police and Indian soldiers.

Many people were reportedly wounded as mobs marched through the streets of Srinagar, the capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, and in several other towns, in the first fighting since secessionist feelings surged in the state about two years ago.

Journalists and others reached at Srinagar said in telephone interviews that the toll could be higher and the hospitals were overflowing with the wounded. Several bodies are still in the hospitals or in the custody of the police, witnesses said.

Worst Fighting in Decades

Officials have yet not listed the number of deaths, and efforts to reach the police authorities at Srinagar today failed. Indian news agencies reported on Sunday that at least 35 people had been killed.

People from the area said the fighting has been the worst in decades in Jammu and Kashmir.

According to reports from Srinagar today, troops are running searches in troubled neighborhoods and night raids to capture people thought to be militants and their supporters.

In New Delhi, the country's top internal security official as quoted as saying that the state authorities must examine "any complaints of harassment" by security forces. An official quoted Home Affairs Minister Mfti Mohammad Sayeed, himself a Muslim from Kashmir, as saying the state "law and order machinery had not been firm" in recent months and had allowed the situation to deteriorate.

Under Governor's Rule

Jammu and Kashmir was placed under Governor's rule on Saturday after the resignation of the state's elected government, led by chief minister Farooq Abdullah. He quit after the nomination of Jagmohan as governor of the state, saying he had not been consulted on the post. Mr. Jagmohan, who

has only one name, has ousted the goerner from office ina previous term.

Members of the central reserve policeforce reportedly shot and killed one policeman and wounded another from the Jammu and Kashmir Police as an anti-Indian mob approaced them. One explanation reported was that the paramilitary troops felt that the local policeman was assisting the crowd.

There were several other reports, which could not be offically confirmed, of clashes or confrontation between army troops and local policemen, and of brief protest by the Kashmir policemen, who marched out of the police centre.

With it's mountain ranges, lakes and brooks and hospitable people, the region has often been described as the Switzerland of the East. For manny years, Kaasmir as beenn fvorite vacation spot for West Europeans and North Americanns who come to ski, trek or simply relax, but tour operators and hotele owners say the tourism economy has collapsed since the anti-India agitation began last year.

At the site of one confrontation today, according to Zafar Miraz of the Kashmir Times newspaper, the crowd fled after members of the paramilitary police fired to disperse them. "We saw shoes and sandals strewn as the crowd had fled," Mr. Miraz said. Newspaper reports published here today also spoke of several bodies being found inside a mosque, apparently victims of police gunfire.

The Indian Army was ordered to take control of the situation Sunday after the police and paramilitary forces fired on mobs that had opened fire and hurled stones at them and chanted anti-Indian slogans. Seven more towns were placed under curfew today as the authorities feared an outbreak of violence to protest the killings at Srinagar.

"The situation is very tragic," Mirwaiz Farooq, a prominent Muslim religious leader, said in a telephone interview from Srinagar, "The killings are brutal. Relatives of the dead have not got the bodies yet".



*INTERNATIONAL HERALD TRIBUNE,
JANUARY 27-28, 1990.*

9 KILLED IN INDIA'S KASHMIR TOLL IS AMONG HIGHEST SINCE MUSLIM REBELLION BEGAN.

At least nine persons were shot and killed when a small Himalayan town joined a separatist revolt in India's most strategic border state, Jammu and Kashmir.

Officials said Friday that security forces opened fire to drive off a crowd of thosands who attacked their food supply truck as it drove through

Handawor, 100 kilometers (60 miles) east of the Pakistan border, on Thursday night.

The officials said nine protesters were killed and at least 40 wounded in one of the most deadly clashes since Muslim militants revived a campaign two years ago for Kashmiri independence or joining Pakistan.

Witnesses in Handawor said the death toll was higher. One said he counted 10 bodies in a local hospital.

The Indian authorities succeeded Friday in imposing a curfew on the state's summer capital, Srinagar, flooding the streets with soldiers and police ready to shoot on sight any resident who stepped outdoors.

A spokesman for Kashmir's senior Muslim cleric, Mirwaiz Moulvi Farouq, said, "It is virtually martial law"

But it was unclear whether residents were obeying the official curfew or orders from the militant Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.

The front's message, relayed from the loudspeakers of the city's mosques, told Muslims to observe a "civilian curfew" against India's celebration on Friday of 40 years as a republic.

For the last week demonstrators aged from 8 to 60 had defied curfew orders, chanting at security forces: "Indian dogs go home".

Nearly 50 demonstrators had been shot and killed in Srinagar alone.

The Muslim spokesman denounced an almost total news blackout imposed on Friday on Srinagar, where the public telegraph office was under armed guard and the telephones of many local journalists were not functioning.

Eight foreign journalists were escorted to the airport by Kashmiri police and put on a flight to New Delhi. A dozen foreign correspondents were kept under armed guard at one of the city's main hotels.



The Independent, London.
January 28 1990.

THE SECRET MASSACRE OF SRINAGAR

by Tony Allen Mills

An eye witness talked about the point blank firing on a crowd by Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF)...Shots, shots and shots. People were falling.....I also fell down. The CRPF took control of the area. There were a lot of dead and injured. But I was safe, no bullet. I was still alive, and that fellow, and officer, came with a Bren gun, a light machine-gun. He aimed at me and started firing.....I was

fortunate (he leaned back), my back was just touched. six bullets, kat-kat-kat-kat-kat-kat. My head was safe. I was conscious also. I saw the bridge was completely full of dead bodies.'

The eye witness also saw policemen moving among the bodies, firing further shots at the injured. "If they saw movement, a leg or a hand or a head, they would fire again and again. They were saying: So, you want Pakistan, you want independence (and they would shoot the people and say) have your independence. And I saw one boy under a stall.....and that fellow came and fired there at the boy."

And that boy had not thrown a single stone! And that was the last week of January.



January 30, 1990.

APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION **Amnesty International**

According to reports in the international press, Indian Security Forces have killed at least 50 civilians during demonstrations in Jammu & Kashmir since last Sunday, 21 January, 1990. Other reports say several hundred have been killed. Many of the victims were apparently shot in the head or body of members of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) or the army, without the security forces apparently first attempting to use other nonlethal methods of crowd control. Although the demonstrations were accompanied by acts of violence, the demonstrators are said to have been unarmed. According to Indian press reports, thousands of demonstrators who had come from villages, marched to Srinagar centre on Sunday and, when reaching Hawal, were shot from behind by the CRPF. One of the victims is said to be a nine-year old boy. The security forces are also alleged to have deliberately shot dead wounded demonstrators lying on the street.

A 38 year old engineer, who was himself a survivor of shooting of unarmed demonstrators defying curfew in Srinagar on 21 January 1990, claims that members of the CRPF, after shooting the demonstrators, searched for survivor lying in the street and killed them. He says, that he himself, left for dead, was thrown into a truck together with the bodies of an unspecified number of victims of the shooting and survived with four or five others. He later received hospital treatment.....

Recommended Action:-

Expressing Amnesty International's concerns about reported arbitrary killing in Jammu & Kashmir.

Urging the authorities to order an investigation into allegations that unarmed demonstrators, including wounded people lying on the street, were shot dead on Sunday, 21 January, by members of the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF);

Urging that instructions to be issued to all security forces in charge of law and order not to use lethal force except as a last resort and when no alternative methods of crowd control are available;

Appealing that all those arrested be humanely treated and that those against whom there is no criminal acts be released.....



The Sunday Times , London.
Janusry 1990.

KASHMIR: MASSACRE TURNS HEAVEN TO HELL

by William Dalrymple

"Kashmir" reads the tacky tourist poster in the paramilitary police headquarters: "A silence, mountain moods--a journey into faith." The blurb reads ironically true. Today the silence is that of the curfew, the mountain moods are anger and frustration, faith the iron grip of Islamic fundamentalism.

In the last few days' all hell has broken loose in India's mountain paradise. News of massacres is beginning to leak out, Indian troops are arriving in their thousands and all journalists are being kept under house arrest in their hotels. A crackdown of unparalleled severity is underway.

You know, it is serious as soon as you arrive at the airport off the near empty plane. The usually bustling arrival hall is deserted but for droves of security men. The runway crawls with commandos and the car park is packed with troopcarriers, military jeeps and ambulances. It is like flying into an army base.

As you drive into Srinagar the only signs of life are the dogs rooting around in the empty streets and the soldiers manning the roadblocks. Para-military police are spaced out at 10-yard intervals along the roads.

Otherwise, everything is closed up behind Hansel and Gretel fretwork shutters. Vultures wheel overhead. Black flags of mourning hang limp from the telegraph poles. On every available inch of wall

is scribbled the same unambiguous message: "INDIAN PIGS GO HOME."

The Kashmiris have never had a reputation for fighting: an Indian joke maintains that the Kashmiri army always refused to get into battle without a police escort. Today things have changed.

The Kashmiris have risen en masse against what they regard as an Indian occupation in a movement that bears close comparison with the Palestinian Intifada.

Unarmed, the Kashmiris have faced the machine-guns of the third biggest army in the world and in doing so have posed the most serious challenge to the unity of the subcontinent since the Partition of India and Pakistan.

The curfew has put several restrictions on journalists and the full story of the atrocities which followed the imposition of Governor's rule are only now beginning to leak out. The worst massacre took place on Monday morning.

Just after 11 a.m. a demonstration of several thousand unarmed Kashmiris broke the curfew and headed out of the mosques of the Old City towards the town centre. They were protesting at alleged police brutality during a search operation conducted the previous night.

When the vanguard of the demonstration had got halfway across the Gawkadal Bridge the para-military police opened fire without warning. There are no rubber bullets or water cannons in India. The para-militaries used live ammunition and automatic weapons, and they fired from both behind and in front of the crowd.

The demonstrators rushed for cover, but all those on and near the bridge were mown down.

Srinagar's three hospitals are full of stories of atrocities: 10-year-old children shot inside their homes, old men beaten up by soldiers, women abused, raped and manhandled. The problems were compounded by the fact that doctors were not issued with curfew passes and ambulance men were delayed and searched, while others were forbidden to help those, who had just been shot.

"They told us they [the injured] should die at the roadside", said one senior doctor. "The Indian soldiers here are not men they are brutes animals."

Kashmir is the only state in India with a Muslim majority. At Partition it should logically have gone to Pakistan. However, the pro-Indian sympathies of the Hindu Maharaja, Hari Singh, and

those of Sheikh Abdullah, the leader of the Kashmir National Conference, led to the state passing to India--on condition the Kashmiris retained a significant degree of autonomy.

Since then the Indian Government has refused to honour its constitutional commitment to the state, gradually increasing its hold on Kashmir's affairs.

In 1953, the Indian Government imprisoned Sheikh Abdullah and refused to hold a referendum, on whether the state would remain part of India. Indian administrations have toppled successive Kashmiri governments and rigged elections to install their favourites in power. Cynical elections have led to cynical, self-serving governments. Development grants have been misappropriated and squandered. Four golf courses have been built, while schools remain on the drawing-board.

Although the state has the potential to export hydro-electricity, all power is brought in over the Himalayas and supply is intermittent. No public sector industry has been sited in the valley and unemployment is rampant.

With reason, Kashmiris believe, they are not treated as full partners in the Indian Union, that they are a mere appendage, a colony.

Following the blatant rigging of the 1987 local assembly elections, many prominent opposition leaders went underground to form a series of Kashmiri, Islami, Mujahideen groups, loosely linked to the Hizbullah and Hizb-i-Islami groups in Afghanistan, Iran and the Lebanon. Soon afterwards, the bombings, strikes, assassinations and stone throwings began.

It is impossible to estimate the number of people killed in Kashmir since December 1989. Government sources give ludicrously low figures in the twenties and thirties; emotional Kashmiris speak of 400 to 500 gunned down.

All that can be said is, that people are dying every day in large numbers and the three hospitals are full to bursting with hundreds of people suffering from gun-shot injuries.

The Indian press contributes to the confusion by grossly misrepresenting, what is happening in Kashmir. The Indian people are being told that the trouble is the cause of a few "Pakistan trained militants" and no Indian newspaper has yet had the courage to admit, what is obvious to anyone who spends a minute in Srinagar--the Kashmiris have risen in a popular uprising against Indian rule.

There have even been attempts to gag the foreign press. Journalists' curfew passes have been withdrawn and they have been placed under house arrest in their hotels. Guards were posted outside to stop them leaving and a photographer was beaten up.

Telephone and telex lines from the hotels have been cut. This correspondent only managed to get out of Kashmir with difficulty, and the photographer had all his film stock seized at gunpoint by security men.

Since the imposition of the curfew, the military crackdown has been ameliorated by new initiatives announced by Governor Jagmohan. "Schools are to be built, corruption is to be punished, and new employment made available in the armed force".

However, Kashmiris are unanimous that it is too late for such cosmetic measures. Those who had second thoughts about remaining with India have changed their minds after the massacres last week.

"Development was never a consideration," said Mohammed Abdullah, a milkman in the Old City. "We were slaves and now we want our independence. The Indian dogs must go back home."



The Independent, London.

DELHI'S MAN SURE THAT "TEMPORARY MOOD" WILL CHANGE OUT OF INDIA

by Tony Allen Mills

"I went in an ambulance to collect the injured persons, said Gulam Nabib Degga, a theatre supervisor at a Srinagar hospital. "There have been great massacres these last 15 days. We tried to bring the injured to hospital for treatment. They stopped us and demanded ID and curfew cards. They beat us. They told us the wounded should die there at the roadside. What more can I tell you than this? They are not men. They are brutes. Animals."

Gulzar Shah, a doctor, spoke next. "At night, the Indian soldiers are coming to our houses and doing their massacres. In houses with golden ornaments and cash, they are stealing it. "There was a ripple of agreement among the 40 or more staff, patients and visitors sandwiched into Dr. Shah's tiny office. At the back of the crowd, a nursing orderly offered hurried translations of the English into Urdu. Within seconds a guttural chant had begun: "Indian doggers, go home! Indian piggers go home!"

A couple of miles across the crumpled roofs and silted canals of old Srinagar, a bumpy road climbs up a hillside, past the former palace of the Maharajah of Kashmir - now the Oberoi Hotel - to the gates of a peeling

Victorian lodge. It is the summer residence of the governor, the official appointed by New Delhi to reimpose order in these Himalayan valleys, now seething with revolt.

Inside the new governor, Mr Jagmohan, was attempting to play down reporters' suggestions that the Muslim uprising in Kashmir was far more serious than the Indian government had admitted. "I do not agree with this account," he said. "It is a temporary mood, if we give the Kashmiri people a fair and just administration, address their proper development, the atmosphere will dramatically change."

Thirty miles down the valley lies the spa town of Anantnag, reputedly the home of Anantnag, the coiled serpent upon which Lord Vishnu is often portrayed to recline. In Anantnag the Kashmiri police are on strike. They want better pay and conditions and recognition of their union. They are also furious at the treatment they have received at the hands of the paramilitary security forces drafted into the region to suppress the revolt. The local police are mostly Muslims; the Indian army suspects them of harbouring sympathies for separatist rebels. The strike means no one is enforcing the curfew in Anantnag. At the bridge entering the town, my car was stopped by a mob of Muslim youths. Soon the familiar chant resumed. "Indain dogs go back Freedom is our birthright". Another Indian flag was burnt.

Inside the town, it proved impossible to find either of the kinds of people we wanted to interview. There were no guns on the streets of Anantnag, but on with a good word for India either. "Your colleague says he wants to talk to militants," one English-speaking youth told me. "We are all militants here. Some have guns, some do not. But we are all protesting against the Indian dogs". At a local hospital, a senior surgeon said he had treated 40 patients with bullet wounds in the previous four days. "The Indian army is shooting Muslims," he said, "Do you blame us for wanting to be with Pakistan?" The hereditary Mirwaiz of Kashmir, leader of the Sunni Muslim community, is Moulvi Mohammed Farooq. He said most Kashmiris were not fundamentalists. "For us, Islam is not a religion to rely on coercion or the sword. We believe an educated society should emerge not by threat, but by fear of God."



February 2, 1990

APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION

Amnesty International

Amnesty International has urged the Indian State Governor of Jammu and Kashmir to instruct all members of the security forces not to use lethal force against demonstrators, except as a last resort if faced with a life threatening situation.

Telexing the Governor on 22 and 30 January Amnesty International

expressed its concern that since 21 January more than 50 civilians have reportedly been killed by security forces during demonstrations in Jammu and Kashmir, where militant organisations have recently stepped up a campaign for independence. The killings were said to have taken place without prior efforts by security forces to use non-lethal methods of crowd control.

Although the demonstrations were said to be accompanied by acts of violence, the demonstrators were reportedly unarmed and many of the victims were shot in the head or body - some were shot from behind by members of the Central Reserve Police Force. One of the victims is said to be a nine - year - old boy. "We are therefore concerned that a number of those shot could have been victims of deliberate and unlawful killings", Amnesty International said in its telex to the governor.

One person told the press that he saw members of the Security Forces searching for survivors lying on the street in order to kill them. He himself, left for dead, was thrown into a truck together with the bodies of an unspecified number of victims, he said. However, he and four or five others survived, and he later received hospital treatment.

Amnesty International acknowledges that the security forces face a difficult situation in maintaining law and order during the unrest in Jammu and Kashmir. Members of the security forces have been killed by armed Kashmiris. Amnesty International, however, stresses that it is the government's responsibility to protect its citizens, and has urged the government to "act with proper restraint and to protect the basic human rights of all persons, especially the right to life protected in the Indian Constitution".

Amnesty International's concerns are heightened by the Indian Government decision on 25 January not to allow foreign journalists access to the state of Jammu and Kashmir. "Under such circumstances, allegations of arbitrary killings ... are even harder to verify and less likely to be correctly reported to the outside world. Amnesty International said in its telex.

Amnesty International has called for an investigation into the killings, for all those arrested to be treated humanely and for all those detained solely for peacefully expressing their opinions to be immediately and unconditionally released.



The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay
February 4, 1990.

THE INSURGENCY

by Anuradha Dutt

The immediate cause of the current insurgency lies in the rigging of the 1987 Assembly polls by the National Conference and

the Congress-I, and the subsequent maladministration. It is this that added fuel to the already smouldering resentment of the people and encouraged them to accept the hardliners' view that in India they could only be second class citizens. This conviction, ably nurtured by fundamentalist secessionists, has taken deep root in the people's minds. First, the Kashmiris witnessed the subversion of democracy when the Opposition Muslim United Front (MUF) polling agents were beaten and jailed. Thereafter, they saw the disintegration of the administrative machinery under a pleasure-loving chief minister, Farooq Abdullah.

The original sin lay in not allowing them the right to self-determination, though Pakistan has tried to raise the Kashmir problem on the agenda of the United Nations' Security Council.

But when the only lure that India holds for them democracy was crudely subverted by a rapacious band of politicians, beginning with the Sheikh Abdullah's arrest by the Congress government in 1953, his release in 1964 and rearrest in 1965, and his incarceration for three years their disenchantment with the Centre was complete. In this climate of eroded confidence anti-India sentiments, rather than pro-Pakistan ones, became rife.

The Sheikh's dramatic release in 1968 and the election of his party, the National Conference to power in the first genuine Assembly elections in the State in July 1977, under the Janata regime, restored the people's faith in the democratic process. They felt that they had an instrument to voice their opinion in the Sheikh's government. After his death, they continued to view his heir-successor, Dr. Farooq, as their democratically selected representative. But the Congress government at the Centre resumed its dictatorial politics in the state and so too the process of alienating the Kashmiris by getting Jagmohan, who was governor then, to dismiss the Farooq Abdullah government.

The enormous damage done by this action to the Kashmir psyche was compounded by Abdullah's opportunistic alliance with the Congress-I before the 1987 Assembly polls. The man who had seemed to symbolise Kashmir's political destiny, and had become something of a hero after his dismissal, had in one stroke crossed over to the other side. Still, they trusted in the electoral process and came out to vote in the Assembly elections.

The massive rigging at the polling booths not only eliminated the chances of viable Opposition emerging and an outlet for dissension, but also the prospect of the Kashmiris integrating with India through the ballot. Intermittent outbreak of militancy had been a routine feature earlier. Once in a while, for instance, pro-

Pakistan elements would celebrate India's defeat in an international cricket match and turn violent on some pretext or the other. There would be police firing and imposition of curfew until conditions returned to normal. But militancy on an organised scale was absent. Circumstances today are very different from those prevalent in 1986, the period of Jagmohan's first stint as governor. Today he is faced with civil war conditions, with militants and even the crowds, attacking the security forces. As our press car slowly treads its way through a milling crowd, a man pushes his head through the window and screams, "We will kill Jagmohan!"

A cross sampling of mob reactions in some of the most sensitive areas reflects the simmering violence among a traditionally gentle people. Defying the curfew, they throng around the car, forcing it to a halt. There is a sea of angry faces all around. There are only young boys and men. This is the Nowhatta area of Srinagar, which has a past history of tension. Everyone has a point to make. Finally, Mohammad Ashraf, a student, acts as the spokesman. "We are opposed to the government of India. Because there is violence, subjugation and people die. This has been so right from 1947. We want independence and not to accede to Pakistan. Our Hindu and Sikh brothers are with us. In every corner we will hear the voice of freedom," he says.

Another student, Shaukat Ahmad, complains against the police excesses on the night of January 19 and the subsequent firing on protestors the following day. He says, "Now everyone wants freedom". Mohammad Salim reflects the pervasive sentiments when he says, "The forces should be withdrawn first. Our warning to India is that a bullet will be answered with a bullet. We will not tolerate (the repression) anymore."

The car's progress is slow as it is stopped by jawans and CRPF men and searched almost every step of the way. At Bachpora, another throng converges on the vehicle and blocks road. As word gets around, more and more men come surging down the road. Their purpose is just to talk, to find a forum through which they can voice their anguish.

Ghulam Mohammad, a businessman, articulately expounds their sentiments, "The issue is the right of self-determination which is already on the UN agenda. And this right has not been given to the Kashmiris. All these years there has been suppression and mass killings. The para-military forces and army and all Government of India employees should be removed. Kashmir is a colony of India. There is a ban on the press. The situation here is worse than behind the iron curtain. If India feels that military suppression will solve the

problem then it is wrong. The people want the right to self-determination. If the people of India are committed to democracy they should give us that right."

further on, a group of women spills onto the road. They are voluble in their abuse of the security forces and the searches conducted by them. The combing operation, the people claim, has subjected even the neutral sections of the populace to an unprecedented degree of humiliation.



Times, New York.

February 5, 1990.

THE FIRES OF KASHMIR

by Edward W Desmond

Like a madfury, the will to protest--at any cost--swept through the wintry Kashmir Valley. Thousands of Kashmiri Muslims, infuriated by police searches and the detention of 400 people suspected of terrorism, poured into the streets of Srinagar last week to defy a curfew and press their demand for a break with India. "Brave Kashmiris," came calls from loudspeakers in mosque minarets, "the time has come to lay down your lives. Come out and face the occupation forces as true soldiers of Islam."

For the next two days, thousand surged through the streets and alleys of the state capital, chanting "Indian dogs, go home," and similarly incendiary slogans. They rained stones on para-military policemen and soldiers already jittery because of repeated hit-and-run attacks by Kashmiri guerrillas. The security forces responded with tear gas, then with volleys of deadly rifle fire. In Gowkadal, a congested part of Srinagar, at least 23 demonstrators died under police fire; the following lay ten more were killed in a similar shooting incident in trawal, a middle class neighbourhood.

Srinagar's Institute of Medical Sciences, angry crowds bed journalists and insisted to go inside the hospital to wounded and dying who were waiting for attention in and hallways. In all, counting dozens of smaller clashes in Srinagar and outlying towns, at least 133 people were killed last week, all but nine of them civilians, and hundreds wounded; the fatalities nearly doubled the total of those killed in the 18-month-old conflict, to an estimated 279. Yet as the army moved in with an overwhelming show of force, placing the city under curfew and decreeing a news blackout, rebellious Kashmiris were undaunted. "We are prepared to sacrifice our lives," said Rahti, a middle-aged woman outside the hospital, "and even the lives of our children."

The Independent, London.
February 9, 1990.

.... atrocities were committed, and to hide them a blackout on news was imposed in Kashmir. Foreign correspondents were excluded, and foreign newspapers bearing unpalatable news have been impounded in Bombay."

....."the Singh Government's decision to impose a news blackout in Kashmir can only compound the problem. Such attempts to suppress the truth only cause rumours to multiply, and put India in the company of the world's uglier dictatorships."



The Midday, New Delhi.
February 9, 1990.

by Charan Mann

"Firing on Wednesday evening claimed at least over a dozen lives contrary to the official version of only two deaths by the authorities. While the area has been put under complete curfew, the para-military forces are still fishing out bodies. No one is allowed to visit the site. However, according to eyewitnesses, the death toll in the firing incident at Lal Chowk could be much higher.

"Reports say that the incident was sparked off by a gas cylinder explosion. As people ran helter-skelter, the para-military forces mistook it to be a firing by militants and fired back at the panic-stricken crowd. This is the second such incident this fortnight. On January 18, at least 100 civilians were gunned down by para-military forces when a 40,000-strong mob was protesting against curfew.

"The protesters had started with a lean strength of around 50 at Ikhaijpora. By the time they reached Maisoma Bazar, the mob had swelled to about 40,000. When they reached Nai Sarak area, the then SSP of Srinagar, Allah Bakhsh, who is now DIG, was coming from the opposite direction. He fired two shots in the air. The para-military forces, thinking that it was someone from the crowd who is firing, opened indiscriminate fire into the crowd with LMGs and automatic rifles. The result: Over 100 deaths including women, children and youth.

"These incidents have greatly antagonised the militant factions and other citizens who are now waging a war against the para-military forces as was evident from yesterday's incident at Chanpura where two BSF men were killed.

"Conservative estimates indicate at least 500 citizens have been killed in sporadic incidents of violence. Dozens of citizens are missing."

The Independent, London.
February 24, 1990.

..... "about half a million Muslims marched peacefully yesterday to demand an end to New Delhi's rule of Kashmir, in the largest outpouring of anti-Indian sentiment in the troubled region since independence in 1947."



The Sunday, Calcutta.
February 25, 1990.

PRESENT INSURGENCY IS A PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT

by Shiraz Siddhva

An uneasy calm hangs over the Valley. The day is unusually warm, but few Kashmiris dare emerge from their houses to enjoy the weather. It is Friday (9 February) and curfew is still in force. Driving into the city from Srinagar airport, one passes a series of checkpoints manned by heavily-armed CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force) guards who look into the boots of cars and demand curfew passes. Curfew is now a way of life in this once-upon-a-time paradise. Besides the occasional rumble of paramilitary and police vehicles and the menacing whirr of service helicopters, there is a deathly silence. Unofficial estimates have it that nearly a lakh of army, para-military and police personnel have been deployed in Kashmir in the past six weeks.

If this is not war, what it is? On Saturday mourning (10 February) people emerged hesitantly to stock up essentials. The mood in the bazaar is sullen and resentful. Two days ago, CRPF men reacted to a cylinder blast by firing on innocent shopkeepers in Srinagar's main shopping mall. Dr. Mohammad Yousuf of Bagat Barzalla lost his young son because he happened to be standing there. "You bring in these military men who have spent their lives learning how to kill when provoked," mourns a senior police official, "if the government thinks this is the way to curb a people's agitation, they will soon see how wrong they are".

Lal Chowk keeps its shutters down in protest. "In any case, what business has there been for the last two months?: asks a despondent shawl dealer. "Those of us who had any doubts that we are suppressed by the Centre have them no more".

At Panta Chowk, seven kilometers from Srinagar, at any army checkpoint, trucks and buses are emptied and incoming passengers are lined up, their hands raised, to be mercilessly searched. A week ago, a policeman was shot dead when he argued with CRPF men that he was a man of the law.

"Stop and get out the car at once," screams an army major, as he yanks a photographer of the press out of the car and grabs his film roll. A top a craggy hill there are young jawans with their rifles pointed towards the road. "What will become of us?" wonders a woman as her luggage is searched. The army officer is apologetic after the roll of film is safely in his pocket. "We are expecting some violence tomorrow", he confides, "we can't risk any arms being smuggled into the Valley."

The next day, Sunday (11 February), is the sixth death anniversary of Maqbool Butt who was hanged in 1984 in Tihar Jail in Delhi. Butt is one of the martyrs of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front. As recently as two years ago, few responded to a call for a band to commemorate the day. But in 1990, things are very different. Whatever the Governor Jagmohan and his advisors might say nobody can deny that the present insurgency is a peoples movement and a few more killing by military men and a few more weeks of curfew can only serve to fuel the people's rage.

In Anantnag, the hotbed of separatist activity over the last 40 years, only stray dogs and CRPF men dare to venture out. There has been curfew there since 21 January, with the exception of a few hours on certain days. Small boys, unmindful of the rain and restless at being cooped up for weeks, play in a tiny courtyard. They are amused to see a visitor. "This is actually Islamabad," a man in a tattered shawl declares, and he is not lying-the boards in the deserted bazaar all read 'Islamabad'. "*Islam Ka naam enko dil mein khataкта hai* (the name of Islam hurts them)," says a woman beating her fists one the wall. "They can change the names of all the places to Ramgarh and Krishnagar, but here they can see only snakes and more snakes, so they insist on calling us Anantnag," she hisses for effect. Does she feel being a part of Pakistan would make her life easier? "Oh no, only *azadi*".

Shopkeepers cannot do business and are often too scared to open up. Many families have moved away; others wonder what will become of them; some just look to God for help. "We have stopped eating meat," says Shakira, a young mother - for a Kashmiri that is the ultimate sacrifice. Next door, in the more affluent home of Ghulam Qadir Kanu, the woman has a more heart-rending tale to tell. Her 15 years old son, Sajid Ahmed, has been languishing in the Central jail for the last seven months. The family insists that he is innocent. "Our children throw stones at the BSF as a prank and they answer with bullets or just take them away," laments the mother of the jailed boy. "They harass us with house-to-house searches and our lives have become reduced to counting the hours."

The phones of local journalists who have been reporting the problem are 'mysteriously' dead. While a handful of foreign journalists can be seen, the national press is conspicuous by its absence. However, the Governor staunchly denies that there has been any attempt to gag the press. But he adds that he is displeased about "irresponsible" reporting by certain radio networks. "Would Margaret Thatcher be happy if you created trouble in Northern Ireland?" he asks. There are rumours that a planeload of journalists will be taken on a conducted tour of Kashmir to assess the situation for themselves. And yet, local journalists are denied curfew passes after eight p.m.

"We have orders that all curfew passes for the press have been cancelled," says a CRPF officer, confronting this journalist on Sunday, "in any case this is no place for a woman to be loitering alone." "For the first time in my life I feel unsafe in Kashmir," says a well-known businessman. "I never dreamt that things would be so bad."

Business in Kashmir has received a major setback. The seasonal tourism industry has suffered as a result of the unrest in the Valley. "I haven't opened my shop in two months," confides a carpet exporter.

In downtown Zainakadal, the mood of the people is rebellious. On Monday (12 February) morning, two hours after curfew is lifted, demoralised clutches of people emerge from their squalid shanty dwellings to walk in the rain. The presence of the CRPF irks them. "These Hindus kill us every day," shouts a self-styled student leader, as the all too familiar slogan "Indian dogs go back" rings out.

At the corner of Aishan Sahib in the area, the crowd burns a credely-stitched, stain and cotton Indian flag. The people here hate the word "India", so much that they have papered it over on Air India hoardings. Similarly, they have covered the word "Bharat" at petrol pumps.

It is not as if Jagmohan's Srinagar is more peaceful. The bomb blasts continue. On Tuesday (13 February) morning, the petrol pump on Maulana Azad Road is partially damaged in a blast. "This is the first time the militants have attacked private property", the owner says. Earlier, part of his carpet factory was destroyed in a fire but only because it was close to state property. The militants have always maintained that they pick their targets carefully to ensure that the common people do not get hurt.

That the people are with the militants is quite clear. In the one month since the new administration has taken over, not a single

militant has been captured. "The search operations are fruitless because of the widespread support and it would be foolish to dismiss this as the result of fear alone," warns a retired judge. The situation has deteriorated rapidly after the state government, with the active connivance of Rajiv Gandhi, blatantly rigged the 1987 elections. Many of the hardcore militants were MUF (Muslim United Front) supporters and campaigned for that party. Nadiha, a local journalist's wife, remembers the day the results came in. "The MUF was leading everywhere and suddenly it was announced that they had lost," she recalls. "Nobody cried that day. We were all stunned into silence."

"The root cause of this crisis is that the Kashmiri people have been taken of granted by their own leadership," says a superintendent of police, who belongs to the state "we require hard retrospective thinking - the *Lalas* sitting in Delhi have to search their hearts and look into why all this economic and political instability started in the first place." He refused to buy the line that India has been pumping money too long into Kashmir. "I have reason to believe that 70 percent of the money (Rs. 800 crores) is grant loans and 30 per cent soft loans, whereas other states are allowed 90 per cent soft loans and 10 per cent grant loans," he says dismissively. "A few colleges here and a hospital there do not make a difference." The senior police official likens the problem to a very serious disease. "Calling in the para-military and the army only serves to numb the problem. The man might not cry out for some time, but that does not mean that the disease has topped spreading."

Jammu and Kashmir's erstwhile Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, pays fleeting visits to war-torn Srinagar, between forays to the Himalayan idylls of Gulmarg and Tanmarg. SUNDAY'S repeated efforts to meet the 'disco chief minister' as he is popularly known proved futile. But nearly every affluent and upper-middle class Kashmiri is filled with remorse that "Farooq Sahab" played into the hands of Rajive Gandhi's government and betrayed. "We were fools to have bartered our lives away. First the father plundered us, then the son," says a bitter laundry worker. "They were both *gaddars* (traitors)!"

Jagmohan's sops which include the reservation of 3,000 BSF posts for Kashmiris, only bring him more unpopularity. "It is like adding insult to injury," says a local politician who has little influence left. "First they train their guns on us and they ask us to joint them." He is incredulous. "Which Kashmiri worth his salt will turn upon his own people?"

The militants who now enjoy the widespread support of the

people are slowly abandoning their earlier caution and restraint. The violence and the terror continue. The new administrators may be well-intentioned, but there is more at stake than regular power and water supply. What are the options for India? "We cannot let go, otherwise the whole country will turn secessionist," says a senior bureaucrat in the Home Ministry.

Meanwhile, arms and people continue to be smuggled in from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir to help their "trapped brethren", as one local put it. And the doctor (Jagmohan) who came to administer the healing touch may have to quickly devise new ways of containing the civil war that ravages Kashmir. For, brute force might be the last nail in the coffin.



The Telegraph, Calcutta.
February 1990.

KASHMIR: THE GROUND REALITIES

by Ashoke Mitra

The stakes in Kashmir, it could be argued, are much too high, and a no-nonsense Governor is the only hope. May be, or may not be. Settling old scores with Dr. Farooq Abdullah, or to punish him for his waywardness, is now a pointless exercise. He and the National Conference have little credibility left in the Kashmir Valley. Where does that leave the Union of India though? With the virtual disappearance of the National Conference, the last link between the ethos of Kashmir nationalism and that of a multi-lingual, multi-cultural, multi-religious Indian nation is in fact also snapped. The alienation between the two streams of consciousness is complete and the circumstances are certainly much worse than they ever were since 1953.

A strong Governor can temporarily restore an aura of law and order. Ground realities in Kashmir will however not be altered thereby. Disenchantment with India is a near-universal phenomenon. This denouement could be on account of mistakes committed by Mrs. Indira Gandhi, it could be because of the lack of political acumen on the part of Farooq Abdullah and the eagerness he displayed in 1987 to regain his chief ministerial slot by surrendering to New Delhi and which disgusted his erstwhile admirers. 'Recounting of old wives' tales will not however obliterate the hard facts as they have emerged. We can, for form's sake, complain about infiltration from across the border. We can implore the authorities in Pakistan to observe the letter and spirit of the Simla Agreement. We can send emissaries here, there and everywhere to try to explain our stand that religion has nothing to

do with the Kashmir imbroglio, which, in addition, continues to be matter wholly belonging to our domestic arena. But can we put our hand to our heart and assert that is all there is to it? What about the people in the valley, what about their emotions and sentiments? We may cling to the pretence that results of the November 1989 polls for the Lok Sabha seats, in which not even five per cent of the Valley's electorate bothered to participate, constitute the summum bonum of democratic representation; we will be only fooling ourselves.

Our illusions will not sway the mood of the sullen young people in Srinagar another Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad either; thirtyseven years have rolled by, it is, as the Americans say, a different kind of ball game. Other things remaining the same, we will therefore be forced to rule Kashmir only through an army of occupation. For how long, and at what cost? One or two stragglers could be expected to be still around to act as our servitors. With each month and week, even their ranks will dwindle. Our declamation to keep Kashmir whatever the cost notwithstanding, sooner or later we will be forced to ask whether the return was really worth the outlay. We can provide by our bellicosity, some instant satisfaction to the breast-beating jingoes, but will that promote either our long-term international interests, or strengthen our claim of being a just republic? year after weary year, huge dollops of scarce resources, which could otherwise be spend on expanding the nations's irrigation and power potential or for blanketing the countryside with a crash programme of nutrition and literacy, will need to be pre-empted so that the people of Kashmir, comprising less than one-half of one per cent of the nation, could be bribed and the army of occupation kept equipped to jump into action of occasions when bribery fails to click. Who will decide, whether such an arrangement indeed maximizes, for all times, the nation's welfare?

Soliciting foreign support for our stand in Kashmir cannot be expected to yield many dividends; the world has grown much too cynical in the past few years. Why beat about the bush, we had our opportunities in Kashmir; we muffed each one of them. A minority government at the Centre has its limitations. A permanent army of occupation is still a non-answer; statesmanship demands that, alongside of offering the National Conference a further chance, a channel of communications is also opened with those who are currently rampaging on the streets in Srinagar. We have no right to hold a people against their will either we talk to them and try to win back their confidence, or we let them go to whatever fate they want to drift into.

News Line, Karachi.
February 1990.

REVOLT IN PARADISE

by Jyoti Malhotra

Kashmir, the beautiful valley, an earthly alibi for paradise, sped quickly toward masochistic self-ditruction over the last month - until the lumbering Indian state woke up, and reasserted its might.

Certainly, within the the state of Jammu and Kashmir, preparations to combat secessionist forces were being made on a war-like footing. The army was called out in Srrinagar on Sunday, January 21, when "frenzierd mobs defied curfew restrictions," according to agency reports. Shoot-at-sighht orders were issued, and 35 people were killed. Nearly a hundred others, including 60 belonging to te police and paramilitary forces, were injured.

The violence was a direct result of intensive house-to-ouse searches carried out te previous day in Srinagar, during wic about 250 people, men and women were arrested. Tousends defied curfew, as army and paramilitary personnel fired continuously for four ours. A couple of bridges were burnt, and in te Gawkadal area, sources said, 15 bodies were found in a mosque.

Within the next twenty-four hours, the nerve-centre of state authority had cracked, when three battalions of the Kashmir armed police (5th, 7th and 12th battalions) revolted against the alleged gunning sown of three colleagues by the army. Raising slogans at the police control room in Srinagar, they demanded that the newly installed director-general of police, J.N.Saxena be reverted, and voiced resentment over the high-handed treatment of the army and paramilitary force. Carrying weapons, they marched through the streets of Srinagar down to Lal Chowk, the centre of the city and allegedly a favourite hideout of te militants. officials admitted to one deat, and promised that "acts of indiscipline" would be checked.

Ironically, Sunday's deaths coincided withh the installation of te state's latest lieutenant-governor, Jagmohan.

Criticising thhe searches, he admitted "the administraction has totally collapsed," and proceeded to release all except eight of te 250-odd people arrested during te searses.

"Give me help, and I will give you help," e urged the people. "I have come here not as a governor, but as a nursing orderly to serve thhe people withh love and a sense of compassion." Four days later, he announced a package of benefits for thhe state, including raising three BSF (Border Security Forrces) battalions which would give employment to 7000 youths, and alloction of school buildings. As Srinagar remained largely peaceful, and only minor incidents occurred in the southern town of Anantnag, Jagmohan promised that at least 2000 teachers would be ired over the nest few monthhs.

Jagmohan's induction into Kashmir by the Janata Dal government came in the wake of a political controversy, with the opposition questioning why V.P. Singh's much-vaunted "healing touch" shown in the Punjab was not being applied to Kashmir. "Why doesn't he ride in an open jeep in Srinagar, as he did in Amritsar?" asked a congress-man.

In Srinagar, Kashmiri Muslims remembered his last tenure for two controversial deeds: the Hindu festival, Jagmohan had banned the sale of meat in the entire state. Said a Muslim trader, "Kashmir is the repository of the Sufi faith, and over the centuries we have always played down the confrontation with Hindu pandits over issues like meat. But the man who permanently raised it into our consciousness is now back again as governor."

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The Mufti-V.P. Singh combine hope that his carrot-and-stick' approach will help stem the dangerous downside that currently racks the state: controlling corruption (Rs. 10,000 for the job of a clerk, Rs. 25,000 for a village school teacher), and shoring up the administration, but simultaneously cracking down on the secessionist outfits are running the state.

The one consolation for the Indian government in this dismal scenario is

that the 30-odd militant outfits in the Kashmir valley are not united. The best known, the JKLF and the people's league, heated by Shabbir Shah, are at loggerheads, best borne out by Rubaiya's kidnapping: none of the five militants demanded in exchange for her release included Shah, recently caught in the valley, and one of the most wanted militants in the state.

Amanullah Khan, the Pakistani-based president of the JKLF, reportedly sent letters to Indian newspaper correspondents based in Srinagar, criticising the "fundamentalist" activities of groups like the Hizbe Islami. The latter has warned Muslim women in the state about wearing tight clothes, observing purdah and not visiting cinema, as according to them these were all prohibited by the Quran. But the dividing difference between the JKLF and the people's League is that while the former roots for complete independence- "an independent Kashmir incorporating Pakistani-occupied Azad Kashmir" ("*Kashmir banega khud mukhtar*")-the latter seeks to integrate Indian Kashmir with Pakistan, ("*Kashmir banega Pakistan*").

Jagmohan's real job of course, aided by advisor Ved Marwah, former commissioner of police in delhi (he fell out of favour with the Rajiv Gandhi regime, but was brought back to the home ministry soon after the Janata Dal returned to power), is to decimate the bases of these militant groups. "Kashmir's misguided youth," (the Mufti's favourite phrase), are to be wooed and brought back into the fold, and the sources of their grievances removed.

In the valley, as women and children take up cudgels on behalf of the "boys," that seems a tough proposition. On the day the police battalions revolted on Srinagar, 75,000 people defied curfew orders to march into the heart of Srinagar, shouting "Indian dogs go back, 'and' We want freedom, "The police denied they fired into the crowd, but doctors at the sher-i-Kashmir hospital showed journalists bullet wounds on children barely out of their teens.

Through the week, paramilitary forces were kept on the ready, to be flown into the state capital when necessary. As violence mounted in the first half of January, 85 Companies were brought in.

Said DGP, Saxena to India Today, "For the first time since 1965, the government is on the defensive." Another police official added, "A new spirit of defiance has crept into the Kashmiri. In the past you fired one shot in the air, and they disappeared. Today you kill one demonstrator, then a second, and yet the mob keeps coming at you."

In the heart of Srinagar, 'Air Marshal' Noor Khan of the militant groups, Allah Tigers, told the same correspondent, "You Indians had better roll up your holdalls and leave with grace."

The Indian government used Abdus Sattar and Sahibzada Yakub Khan to send a message to Pakistan that it intends doing no such thing. Solving the

internal crisis which threatens to assume much greater dimensions, however is the government's greatest priority. If Kashmir must be kept within the Indian union, force can only be a limited option. And for that, the hearts of the people will have to be won.



March 2, 1990.

THE APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION

Amnesty International

The international press reported that Indian security forces had killed at least 50 civilians during demonstrations in Jammu and Kashmir between 21 and 30 January. According to reports received, Indian security forces have killed a further 29 and possibly more people during demonstrations in Tengpora and Zakura in and near Srinagar, Kashmir, on 1 March. Apparently, troops fired into the crowd with automatic weapons without warning after demonstrators shouted slogans for the independence of Kashmir and some of them threw stones at the soldiers....

Recommended Action

Expressing Amnesty International's concern about renewed reports of arbitrary killing in Jammu & Kashmir, particularly the Tengpora and Zakura in and near Srinagar and urging an official investigation into these killing;

....stressing that even in times of public emergency it is the responsibility of the government to protect the right to life of its citizens; urging once more that, if not done so already, immediate and strict instructions be issued to all troops in charge of crowd control not to use lethal force unless faced with a life threatening situation, and to shoot only after appropriate warnings have been given.



The New York Times.

March 2, 1990.

INDIAN TROOPS KILL 29 PROTESTERS

by Sanjay Hazarika

March 1 --At least 29 people were killed and about 25 wounded today in Srinagar, capital of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, when Indian troops fired on pro-independence crowds, news reports said.

The United News of India, quoting the Kashmiri radio, said 15 people were killed and 20 wounded when troops fired at crowds. In a separate episode, 14 people were killed and 15 wounded when army soldiers fired at a

mob of people hurling rocks who had surrounded an army convoy.

The government-run All India Radio reported that seven people were killed when armed guards repulsed an attack by a mob on an army school bus in Srinagar but it was not clear whether this incident was a separate one or related to those already reported.

More than 120 people have died in six weeks of confrontation between the Kashmiri militants and troops sent to keep order. On Jan. 21, Indian Army soldiers opened fire in clashes with demonstrators defying a curfew in Srinagar, and at least 35 people were killed and 100 wounded. The violence that day was the worst in the nearly two years since a resurgence of secessionist sentiment began.

The clash came shortly after the one-month-old Government of Prime Minister V.P. Singh in New Delhi had appointed a New Governor, Jagmohan, to Jammu and Kashmir state to deal with the growing anti-Indian movement. But the protests and violence have persisted despite efforts by Mr. Jagmohan, who uses one name only, to impose security measures like curfews and to negotiate with the protest leaders.

Since 1947 the militants of Jammu and Kashmir, the only Indian state with a Muslim majority, have sought either independence from largely Hindu India or union with Islamic Pakistan. Pakistan and India have fought two of their three wars over Kashmir, and parts of Kashmir are claimed by both Nations.

After the latest surge of violence began this year, the national Government took control of Kashmir, a state with a population of about four million, under a constitutional arrangement known as governor rule.

The killings today ended shaky peace of several days during which Srinagar and other towns in the Kashmir Valley had seen large independence demonstrations.

Although the violence between security forces and Kashmiri Militants had eased, Srinagar and the other towns have continued to be tense because of the demonstrations. Most of the casualties have occurred in Srinagar, which is one of the major tourist attraction of the subcontinent.

There were no reports about a curfew being ordered to contain possible consequences of the shootings, which followed several days of largely peaceful protests by the agitators who have marched through Srinagar, waving the flags of militant groups, to press their demands.

The police said today that Pushkar Handoo, an assistant director of information in the state government, had been shot and killed outside his home in Srinagar, and that militants were suspected in the killing.

Mr. Handoo is one of the several Hindu Government officials who have been assassinated in recent weeks, including the director of the government-run Srinagar Television Center, who was also killed near his home.

No Support From Other Muslims.

Muslim leaders in other parts of India have not supported the agitation for independence in Kashmir. They have said that the state is an integral part of India and have opposed demands by Pakistan and the militants in Kashmir for United Nations-supervised plebiscites in the state. The goal of the plebiscites would be to enable Kashmiris to choose their political future.

A political scientist, Bashiruddin Ahmed, said Indian Muslims are distancing themselves from Kashmir tangle because they are aware that they must survive in predominantly Hindu India. Mr. Ahmed said Muslims outside of Kashmir did not see any need to endanger their existence. Muslims comprise India's biggest religious minority - they are about 100 million in a population of 800 million.



The New York Times.
March 3, 1990.

INDIAN TROOPS TOLD TO SHOOT KASHMIRI'S CURFEW VIOLATORS

by Sanjay Hazarika

Indian officials in the state of Jammu and Kashmir authorised soldiers to shoot curfew violators on sight today after violence in the secession-minded Vale of Kashmir left three-dozen people dead, according to report from the area.

Indian troops fired on pro-independence demonstrators in the mostly Hindu state on Thursday, and the toll in the violence rose today to at least 35 people killed and several dozen wounded. The Indian police said they were fighting off mobs of people hurling stones when they shot at protesters.

An indefinite curfew is in place in the area, and the Press Trust of India said security forces had begun searching for suspected militants. Army helicopters hovered over Srinagar, the capital, apparently seeking signs of trouble, witnesses said.

Heavily armed troops were patrolling the deserted streets of Srinagar, once a major tourist centre that has been crippled by more than three months confrontation between pro-independence militants and Indian forces. The bitter confrontation has worsened in the last, six weeks, and about 130 people have died violence has reached a level not seen in the valley in decades.

Curfew Lifted: Rallies Allowed

The state was put under central rule in response to the flare-up in separatist feeling. Militants in the state, the only one in India with a Muslim majority, have been agitating since 1947 for independence from mostly Hindu India or union with Islamic Pakistan.

Last week, the state Government lifted the curfew and allowed large marches every day by crowds demanding independence, apparently to let people vent their resentments. Groups waving flags and banners and shouting slogans seeking freedom from Indian control carried out peaceful processions.

But on Thursday, crowds attacked an army convoy and a military vehicle carrying school children in separate episodes. Soldiers fired to repel the crowds. First estimates of the toll were 29 dead. Today the Government put the toll at 35 but it could be higher, perhaps as high as 46 or more, said a Kashmiri Journalist reached telephone from Srinagar. The Government has asked the army to investigate the shootings.

There were reports of at least three large demonstrations today, including one by several busloads, of villagers from Sumbal, 12 miles south of Srinagar, who reached the outskirts of the city but were stopped by security forces.

One account said that large numbers of the Muslims on the buses were wearing white shrouds, symbolising their willingness to die. But there were no reports of violence. It was not clear whether the demonstrators were arrested or bussed back to their village.

A large protest was also reported from the town of Sopur, 30 miles northeast of Srinagar, where thousands of people marched, through the streets and prayed those who were killed in the firings.

Most reporters are being restricted to their homes and offices and have been denied curfew permits that would enable them to move about freely.

The Indian Government is not permitting foreign journalists to visit the state, although Indian nationals working for foreign newspapers and news agencies have been allowed to go. But a report in The Hindustan Times said Governor Jagmohan had asked all reporters for Delhi-based newspapers and news agencies to leave the capital, saying they were "soft targets" for extremists.



India Abroad.
March 9, 1990.

ARMY CRACKS DOWN IN KASHMIR

The Indian government finally decided to crack down on the pro-independence movement in Kashmir last week, when army troops fired on militant demonstrators in two processions, killing about two dozen people.

While a government spokesman claimed "the firing was in retaliation heavy stone pelting," eyewitnesses maintained the shootings were unprovoked as both processions were peaceful.

For about two weeks, the capital city of Srinagar and several other parts of Kashmir were under virtual siege as the Muslim population rose in mass protest against what it called Indian dominance.

The processions were joined by hundreds of thousands of people from all over Kashmir, making a beeline to the local office of the United Nations Military Observers Group, seeking the intervention of the world body for implementation of its resolution passed back in 1949 and calling for a plebiscite in Jammu and Kashmir.

Countless flags of the Jammu & Kashmir Liberation Front and other pro-independence groups have been fluttering all across Kashmir. Different sections of the population, including traders, transporters, students, doctors and women, joined the processions in support of their demand.

Even government employees have recently ignored repeated warnings against taking part in these demonstrations, and most of them held processions and submitted memorandums to U.N. Observers that supported the ongoing movement in open defiance of service rules.

According to one U.N. Observer, more than two million Kashmiris demonstrated during this period and the number of memorandums, submitted exceeded 400.

While all this was happening, government authorities watched the deteriorating situation like mute spectators. Indian paramilitary troops were withdrawn from most parts of the city and anti-India demonstrators were allowed free movement. For more than 12 days no attempt was made by the authorities to prevent processionists from going to the U.N. office.

However, this policy came to an abrupt end on March 1 when the Indian Army opened fire on two pro-independence processions at different places in Srinagar. Though officially it was

declared that "only 17 people had died in the two incidents," unofficially the figure was double this figure.

The government has ordered a high level inquiry into the circumstances leading to the firing. But the government announcement has failed to lessen tension here and some people fear another major crackdown.

They also point out that the incidents took place only a day after Governor Jagmohan returned from New Delhi, where he had rushed for consultations with the government.

Following the two incidents, an indefinite curfew was clamped in Srinagar and all major Kashmiri towns and the army was called out to assist a large number of para-military troops in ensuring curfew restrictions.



*The Times of India, New Delhi.
March 13, 1990.*

KASHMIR PROBLEM

by Jaya Jaitia

Even today any Kashmiri will admit that 1977 and 1983 were the only free and fair elections held in the state in the long years that India has said that there was no Kashmir problem.

Did anyone ever give a thought to the fact that while we happily allow violence and rigging and oppression of voters in a state like Bihar, that a murder of democracy in the crucial and sensitive Muslim majority border state of Kashmir was like administering oneself slow poison?

In 1983, with the dynastic principle again at work, a fair election, saw Farooq Abdullah cocking a snook at the 'great lady' at the centre. The joy all over the valley knew no bounds, and yet there was a sense of suspicion shown by her during the campaign when she pointed in the direction of Pakistan and predicted danger in order to gather the Hindu vote in Jammu.

When Jagmohan was so obviously sent and so efficiently diabolical in arranging Farooq's topple in 1984, Farooq began the first of his downside actions. No one ever thought for a moment that may be the Kashmiris would like a ruler of their own whom they could elect or throw out as they wished. Is not that what democracy is all about? We forgot, it seems.

When Farooq and Rajiv Gandhi aligned, it was as awkward as if every Kashmiri was tied up in a three-legged race not of their choice. Everyone eventually fell over. The balance of Farooq and the

Centre as ruler and opposition was at least Indian, moderate and secular but with both on one side the vacuum in the opposition was quickly filled by the militant, more fundamentalist MUF Politics abhors a vacuum everyone forgot....

The 1987 election was a major turning point as it marked a return to totally unprincipled rigging "for the sake of the nation" denying the MUF a chance to be part of the assembly and at least participate in a mainstream forum. The three-legged runners could not cope with the anger thus generated and terrorism saw its genesis.

Now, if we still continue to blame Pakistan and do not remember that we have done our Kashmiri Muslim brothers and sisters many wrongs and that Jagmohan can never....bludgeon them to love us we will not only lose our most important limb but something much more important, our secular spirit.



India Today, New Delhi.
March 15, 1990.

KASHMIR: HEDGING THE BETS

by Pankaj Pachauri

It was the first Friday in months that curfew had been lifted in Srinagar city. Yet even on February 23, the shops remained closed. The people, however, emerged. Their hands in the air-making victory signs and waving multi-coloured flags of various militant organisations-tens of thousands of youth, women and children came out on the streets. Singing religious verses from the Quran and raising slogans for freedom, the processions snaked through the posh Residency Road to the United Nations' Observer's office, to submit a memorandum seeking plebiscite in Kashmir. Some were clad in white death-shrouds, and the eerie refrain that echoed was: Al jehad gao, maro ya mar jao (Sing for the holy war, kill or be killed).

Governor Jagmohan was in Delhi that day, discussing the plan outlay for the state. His adviser, Ved Marwah, was in his Srinagar office, clearing various files for the construction of schools and bridges for outlying towns. Paramilitary personnel were keeping an unagitated eye on the demonstrators, even as the militants kept their protests disciplined. In the evenings the bureaucrats prepared an "all normal" report for the press briefing; there had been no instances of police firings, deaths or tension. The administration then decided to lift the curfew altogether.

There was much more to be read into the day's events than

seemed apparent. The underlying message was that after a month of Central rule, and an immediate clampdown to stem the rot, governor Jagmohan was down to evolving his long-term strategy. The unique formula he had decided to adopt was: permit peaceful protests no matter how unpalatable the slogneering; but at the same time give no quarter to terrorism. Also, play the game by the rule of the law. Hence, no knee-jerk raids and encounters after each act of violence, and no glorification of extremists through special treatment. As an aide to the governor said: "What is wrong in political demonstrations? They happen all the time in Delhi's Boat Club. It's only their flags which display Kalashnikovs. But if the people do, that will be dealt with differently."

Jagmohan backed this tough-and-liberal strategy with covert political initiatives. Feelers were sent to the People's League leader, Shabbir Shah, to enter into a political dialogue. Shabbir Shah, an important militant leader now in jail, in turn conveyed that no dialogue would be fruitful unless all militant leaders were taken into confidence.

The last two months have seen more than 115 people, including a dozen paramilitary personnel, killed. And though a police crackdown-including firing-forced curfew violators indoors, the Government was making no headway in busting armed groups. No important militant had been captured or eliminated. Moreover, the police firings were being used to generate rumours of massacred and genocides; and were being exploited by even those like former chief minister Farooq Abdullah to regain their shattered credibility.

The new approach was also the result of realisation that the state could not be administered through the gun. Things are extremely serious for the militants enjoy immense popular support, and the people treat their word as law. To celebrate the Shab-e-Meraj festival, the militants called for a "temporary ceasefire"; this was observed. Even when curfew was relaxed, one call from the militants and every shop would refuse to open its shutters.

Government departments have also been feeling the brunt of this militancy. After Srinagar station director Lassa Koul was gunned down, the entire Doordarshan [T.V.] staff resigned, returning to work only after an assurance was given that there would be no meddling in the local newscasts. Srinagar airport has only two permanent employees now the rest are on deputation and change every fortnight. The Jammu & Kashmir policemen are nervous about the sword of social boycott dangling over their heads. Says a senior IPS [Indian Police Service] officer: "But for a few areas, the militants dictate their terms. Either by consent or force." Now

they've even declared that Friday be observed as the weekly holiday instead of Sunday.

What is even more disturbing is the paralysis of the judicial system. The fear of militants has seen to it, that there is no attorney general to plead government cases, that public prosecutors have quit their jobs. As have counsels and legal advisers of about 150 government departments. Slowly, work in both the high and lower courts is grinding to a halt. In fact, it was the 'Jammu & Kashmir Bar Association' which last fortnight appealed to the UN to intervene and "secure the right of selfdetermination of the Kashmiri people". It also demanded that a team be sent to probe human rights violations.

Aggravating matters was Dr. Farooq Abdullah. Though the rule of his party, the National Conference, [pro-Congress] was marked with oppressive measures and human rights violation, Dr. Farooq in a statement called "Jagmohsn's rule genocidal". Moreover, forgetting his assertions that no power could separate Kashmir from India, he termed Kashmir a watan (country) and called for an inquiry on an international level.

The [J&K] assembly dissolution exposed the true face of his partymen. Former minister, Abdul Salam Deva, met leaders from the Valley who decided to disband the party and convert it into the Plebiscite Front which fought for self-determination under Sheikh Abdullah for 22 years before 1975. They also directed the party's cadre to work with the Kashmir Liberation Front activists.

But a political dialogue with the Centre does not figure on the agenda of the militants. Emboldened by the public support, they wish to press for a plebiscite. The other major difficulty is that none of the 26 organisations has a clear-cut leadership which can be approached for a dialogue. And in the present atmosphere, no one will come forward to negotiate lest he be alienated from the others.

But at least Jagmohan and his trouble-shooters seem to have discovered the existence of a political train in the troubled valley. What they need to do is find the rails to put it back on. However, the process of identifying those rails, at the moment, threatens to be a long-drawn and agonising one.



The Nation, Lahore.

March 19, 1990.

KASHMIR: HEAVEN ON EARTH TURNS INTO HELL

by Kh. Gullam Nabbi Khayal

“It looked like an invading Army shooting, looting and ransacking whatever came its way. All over, there were screams, lamentations and cries of grief. Children seemed a haunted lot and women showed sudden appearance of fright. Most of the young men had gone into hiding for fear of persecution. The terrified faces and locked houses in two localities in Srinagar bore testimony to what could be called brutalities committed against civilian population by the Indian security forces. This is what this correspondent witnessed while going round old Chanapora and Lal Bazar in south and north of Srinagar city.

In old Chanapora, in south of city, out of a total of 200 families about 150 have left their homes. “They now live with relatives and in rented rooms elsewhere,” said Abdul Ahad, a lawyer and an eyewitness to the brutalities by the personnel of the Indian Central Reserve Police (CRP) on March 7.

The CRPF came to the locality in search of freedom fighters. The freedom fighters not belonging to the locality made good of their escape but the residents of old Chanapora had to bear the brunt obviously for no fault of theirs.

“About 200 CRPF men entered into houses and started beating up men, women and even children.”

A middle aged woman carrying her broken television set and a transistor said “this is what they did to me. My young daughter fearing molestation jumped out from the second storey and broke her arm.”

According to a respectable man, Ghulam Nabi Dagga, three unmarried girls in the locality were raped by the security men. “I can’t give you their names be-

cause they are yet to be married. They have also left the area."

Another young woman, Noora, said "They entered into house, beat up my husband mercilessly and tried to rape me.

A working woman said "look, this is the real face of Indian democracy." She said that some officers of Kashmir armed police had come to the locality afterwards and offered some cash relief to the affected people. "They looted our honour. Will they pay us for our honour?"

A young man Manzoor Ahmad interrupted saying – "We are not going to accept anything from these Indian dogs."

Outside on the main street, despite relaxation in curfew hundreds of security men were seen patrolling the locality with their automatic weapons and stenguns and other rifles brandished in a way as if they were about to shoot. A medical shop Haleem Medical Store and the nearby mosque had also been ransacked.

At Saddar Police Station, the concerned police officials confirmed that residents of old Chanapora had filed First Information Report complaining of "a CRPF raid on houses, molestation of women and looting."

The report also said that the CRPF men had attacked these houses under the command of a Sub-Inspector, Pillai, who also threatened to shoot another Sub-Inspector of the Kashmir armed police, when he tried to stop Pillai. An officer of the Indian Border Security Force told this correspondent "it seems that even dacoits of Chambal Valley would not indulge in such inhuman acts."

On March 15, in north Srinagar, yet another action took place. The area looked deserted after about 750 residents had already fled to safer places. It was the

aftermath of a cross-firing between freedom fighters and paramilitary forces.

When CRPF men entered into the houses for purpose of arresting freedom fighters "they fired indiscriminately on people."

A young man, Ghulam Rasool, said that he was dragged out of his house and asked to stand up near a ditch in a lane "you tell us where other young men have gone or we will kill you."

The mosque in a locality had been ransacked extensively. Copy of the Holy Quran was torn to pieces and scattered all over on the floor and outside. The loudspeakers, microphones amplifiers were lying in the prayer hall after having been damaged beyond repairs.

They entered into the mosque with shoes and destroyed everything in this place of worship, Said Mohammad Amin, a labourer. "I have yet to see such brutality committed on innocent people." He complained that Rs-500 had also been taken by CRPF men from his pocket.



The Hindustan Times, New Delhi.
March 24, 1990.

J-K EXTREMISTS GAINING STRENGTH ANIL MAHESHWARI.

Notwithstanding the smug optimism of the State administration respect to making substantial inroads among the secessionist and terrorists organisations and nabbing some of them reliable sources disclosed that terrorists have started imparting arms training for a short period to several hundred youngmen in the deep forests of the Kashmir Valley. The sources identified these forests near Sopore in Baramulla district and Sopian in Anantnag district.

This development is corroborated by the fact that a good number of youngmen, particularly from the countryside, are missing from their houses. Secessionist activities in the countryside had received an impetus following the processions, taken out by various organisations on the streets of Srinagar in the second fortnight of the last month.

Despite the arrest of a dozen odd activist of the Hizbul Mujahideen, a secessionist outfit which is considered close to fundamentalists, this organisation seems to have stolen the thunder from the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), the premier secessionist organisation which stands for independence of Kashmir.

In fact, the expectations of the people have been aroused to this extent in respect to attainment of independence of Kashmir that no secessionist organisation can afford to shed its aggressive posture. The more aggressive a secessionist organisation is, more chances are there of its acceptability with the masses who consider the freedom at their doorsteps. Under these circumstances, any exercise of holding talks with the secessionists has become futile.

According to a political activist, the options before the administration under the prevailing circumstances are that it should intensify patrolling of the security forces in the countryside which could instill fear in the secessionists and strengthen the hands of the liberals though they are few in number. On the other hand, the fundamentalists should be arrested in a large number as this step may prove deterrent to such elements.

However, the State administration in Jammu and Kashmir under the Governor's rule seems to have been trapped under a Catch-22 situation. The exodus of the Kashmiri Pandit community following the suicidal drift allowed to the political atmosphere that came to the fore when fundamentalist and obscurantist forces become strengthened in the wake of massive demonstrations of people on roads during the second fortnight of the last month, has further alienated the liberals among the Kashmiri Muslims who otherwise had a glorious past of the communal amity in the State.

There is hardly any effort on the part of the administration to encourage the migrants to return to their homeland. On the other hand, the reported move of the administration to shift the Kashmiri Pandit employees working in the Central and State Government offices from Srinagar following the unabated incidents of assassination of Government employees seem to have been born out of panic and desperation.

Such a move will result in what the secessionists actually wanted. It would lead to closure of vital organisations such as posts and telegraphs, banks etc. Why would employees from other state consent to join duties at Srinagar on transfer because they would be easily gullible to the onslaught of the terrorists on account of alien language and topography.

Moreover, the percentage of Hindus, mostly Kashmiri Pandita among the Central Government officers stood at 83.66 in January last year as per information placed before the State Legislative Assembly. The same percentage is 79.27 and 72.87 respectively while the State is a Muslim majority one. Under such circumstances how many employees would be shifted?

Similarly, as gesture to help the migrants, the administration has allowed the government employees among them to draw their salary from Jammu. In some cases, it has been detected that the employees drew their pay at Srinagar but again claimed the salary for the same month at Jammu.

A sizeable number of Muslim employees in the Valley, working in government offices or autonomous bodies, have also left the Valley along with their families but neither are they availing the facilities extended to their counterparts in Kashmiri Pandit community nor have sought registration as migrants as refugees. It is also a fact that several hundred non-Kashmiri Muslims have also run away from the Valley in the wake of threat to their life at the hands of secessionists.

Another equally important question is whether the Kashmiris, who essentially remain xenophobic, would like employees from other states.

The question linked with this problem is indecisiveness on the part of the administration, perhaps at the behest of the Union Government, to allow the drift in its actions from time to time due to sheer political expediency. If the terrorists had received an impetus following the abject surrender of the Government in the case of kidnapping of Miss Rubaiya Sayeed, daughter of Union Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, the decision of the administration to allow processions from Feb. 15, which were taken out defying the prohibitory orders, help the secessionists in swelling their strength.

It is officially stated that the processions were peaceful and that is why the administration preferred to ignore them. But it is reliably learnt that the fear of losing Muslim support in the ensuing Assembly elections on Feb. 27 was the reason for giving long rope once again to the secessionists who did not miss the bus and succeeded in spreading their message even the countryside as it was portrayed that the independence of Kashmir was at the doorsteps.

The concession given to secessionists for taking out processions cost dearly as the fundamentalist fervour overrode the secessionist groups who claimed to be in favour of the tested institutions of the communal amity in the Valley. This development in turn aroused the fear and anxiety of the Kashmiri Pandit community and ensued their en masse exodus from the Valley in the following days.

Sadly enough, the administrative measures in the Valley belie the hopes that the Union Government has given up its 43-year-old policy of adhocism while dealing with the sensitive Kashmir problem. Even the Governor's administration appears to be lacking in sticking to its decisions and stand.

The Governor succumbed to mounting pressure from a Delhi Newspaper and cancelled the transfer of a State Government employee from

Delhi as the order was construed as victimisation of Muslim employees.

Similarly, an IAS officer succeeded in retaining his earlier post by 'bullying' the Governor. No wonder, a senior IPS officer who was sent on deputation to the Centre, is reportedly spreading a canard that he was victimised on account of his religion. He is stated to have remarked that all the three senior police officers in the Jammu and Kashmir belong to the minority community in the State.



The Sunday Weekly, Calcutta.
March 25-31, 1990.

by Shiraz Siddhva

"Nearly a hundred days of curfew have virtually turned this paradise into a living hell. The army and para-military forces have swamped the state, but have not been able to 'break the terrorists' backbone', as the authorities had so glibly announced in January.

"Every Kashmiri now has the dates of a new history etched on his soul in letters of blood," says Abdul Mir, a shopkeeper in Srinagar's downtown Habbakadal area, who has details of recent bloodbaths at his finger-tips. So do the thousands of men, women and children who throng the streets at the slightest opportunity to demand 'azadi' (freedom).

"While government sources claim that the militants have steadily matched the number of people killed by the armed forces, the average Kashmiri views things differently. The way he sees it, when militants kill, they are discharging a sacred duty—removing obstacles in the path to freedom. But when the CRPF (Central Reserve Police Force), the BSF (Border Security Force) or the army kills, it is the might of Imperial India rearing its ugly head; the victims are *shaheed* or martyrs. Every street has tales of repression and wrong-doing to tell; the refrain is all too familiar: '*Chahe hamara ek ek bachcha mar jaaye, hum azadi chheen ke lenghey* (let our children die one by one, we will wrest freedom)'.

"The years of injustice, corruption and political subterfuge have wreaked havoc in the Valley. Secessionist activity has never been an unknown feature in Kashmir, but never before has the movement gained such momentum. 'Now it is too late to give us jobs', says Abdul, a school-teacher. 'And then you add insult to injury by offering us BSF recruitment', he says bitterly.

"Sher-e-Kashmir Medical Institute's doctors are disgusted and upset that there has been no attempt yet to establish the number of people dead or wounded in the incidents that have tainted two months of Jagmohan's rule. On the weekend of 20-21 January, the doctors

estimate that at least 450 injured were brought to the hospital. The canteen tables were turned into make-shift beds and the mobs outside forced the doctors to carry patients into the hospital from the road. 'The day I wept in the theatre,' recalls Dr. Rashid Chak, a young neurosurgeon. Dr. Zahoor Fazili adds that 70-80 per cent of the injuries were head wounds; 'they aimed to kill', he alleges. There were at least 30 deaths in the hospital that night.

"The 1st March incident, which official reports describe as a shoot-out by unknown persons on a busload of army children, was also 'a total massacre'. 'This story seems improbable because all schools are closed', points out a doctor. Before they knew it, the hospital's wards were overflowing with patients. Some of them are still at the hospital, a mute testimony to be referred to as 'Jallianwala Bagh'.

"In the new, squalid suburb of Chhanpora, there is a strange hush — a lull after the crying and breast-beating that the whole Valley is reverberating with. On 8 March, International Women's Day, a truck-load of CRPF personnel descended upon a group of huts, looted all the money they could lay their hands on, smashed television and radio sets and raped at least eight women.

"Most of the women have fled the area. Many of the men with their families were injured in the attack, which lasted three hours, from 8.30 to 11.30 a.m. One girl, Amina, has filed a First Information Report: the others did not dare.

"Nothing has broken the Kashmiri spirit more in these troubled times than the communalisation of the issue. Government employees who have stayed in Srinagar and work during curfew, did not receive their pay last month; those who ran away to Jammu have been assured plots of land, guaranteed their pay, and given relief.

"Where does Kashmir belong today?" asks Amin, a civil engineer with the government. 'My children, aged five and three, are also terrorists. They know they have to fight India. This is going to last their lifetime.'"



*Radical Humanist, New Dehli,
March 1990.*

KASHMIR FOR KASHMIRIS

by V. M. Tarkunde

The Kashmir situation represents one of the most complex and intractable problems faced by the Government of India. While it is not easy to find a solution of the Kashmir issue, it is clear that any attempt to solve it must be guided by the basic consideration that a

people who have a distinct language, culture and religion and who constitute an overwhelming majority in the Kashmir Valley cannot be retained in India by force and against their will for an indefinite period. A plebiscite in the near future is not a proper solution to the Kashmir problem, but a plebiscite will become inevitable if it is found that the Kashmiri people cannot be persuaded before long to voluntarily embrace Indian nationality by a process of emotional integration.

.....Once of the biggest mistakes committed by Jawaharlal Nehru was to back out the plebiscite proposal on the wholly irrelevant ground that Pakistan in the meantime had accepted arms and entered into a military pact with the United States. The offer of plebiscite was not in the nature of a concession made by India to Pakistan, but was a recognition of the right of self-determination of the people of Jammu and Kashmir. The denial of the right of self-determination by India on irrelevant grounds led naturally to a plebiscite movement in Kashmir. It became a secessionist movement and was further strengthened by the subsequent policy of the government of India which showed that the government had no confidence in the people of Kashmir. This was evident from the fact that every election in Jammu Kashmir, except the one in 1977, was rigged at the instance of the Indian government. This convinced the people of Kashmir that India did not want them to have the democratic right of self-government. The situation was made worse by the frequent communal riots, which took place in India and in which the minority community suffered the most. This naturally strengthened an anti-Indian feeling of Kashmiri Muslims. Finally, the coalition between the National Conference and the Congress (I) under the weak leadership of Farooq Abdullah convinced the people of Kashmir that they cannot remain in India without losing their separate identity. There has thus been a growing disenchantment of the people of Kashmir from India and the position has now been reached when almost the entire population of Kashmir has become anti-India.

During this process of growing disenchantment, there was an interregnum when a solution of Kashmir issue appeared to be within reach.... This was when Bangladesh became separate from Pakistan and when the Simla Agreement was reached between Indira Gandhi and Zulfikar Ali Bhutto. The essence of the agreement was that India and Pakistan decided to respect the Actual Line of Control between India and Pakistan in the territory on Jammu and Kashmir occupied by them. They further decided that the Kashmir issue should be finally settled by mutual negotiations. In the negotiations which followed, India should have made a firm

offer that the State of Jammu and Kashmir should be finally divided along with Line of Actual Control.... Thus a good opportunity to settle the Kashmir issue was lost.

There is a tendency in India to attribute the present disturbance in Kashmir to the machinations of Pakistan. It is very likely that Pakistan has provided military training and arms to the militants in Kashmir as well as Punjab and Pakistan is clearly not responsible for the disaffection of the people of the valley from the Government of India. The cause of the Kashmir debacle is the initial denial of the right of self-determination and the subsequent anti-democratic policies pursued by the Indian Government.

A humanist can have no doubt that the people of Kashmir should have the right of self-determination. Kashmir has been the main cause of the antagonism... between India and Pakistan... Indian has been diverting a considerable part of its resources in maintaining an army in Jammu and Kashmir and in granting subsidies in various forms to the people of that state. Two costly wars have been waged between India and Pakistan during the post-independence period. Because of mutual distrust, disproportionate military expenditure has been incurred by both the countries at the cost of resources which could have been utilised for economic betterment. An early solution of the Kashmir problem will be of great benefit to the peoples of both India and Pakistan. A grant of plebiscite to the people of the Kashmir Valley is the obvious solution.



The Guardian, London.
March, 1990.

THE PERILS OF BEING MUSTAFA IN KASHMIR

by Colin Smith

PLEASE don't take pictures of the soldiers, bagged Mustafa, a bearded Kashmiri tourist guide I met on the plane from Delhi. They might mistake you for a journalist.

Foreign correspondents have been banned from Srinagar, summer capital of this predominantly Muslim state, since last February when thousands of troops were sent to Kashmir to try to put down a movement that was evolving into a full scale rebellion. So it was better for his nerves at least that Mustafa went on believing I was a travel agent.

Mustafa is not his real name, but he is in that 16 to 30 age group which receives the most attention from the police and armed forces. It is difficult to judge their success, but many arrests have been made and the people seem somewhat cowed.

Since December more than 300 people have been killed in a cycle of terrorist atrocity and government repression that seems to be bringing India and Pakistan to the brink of a war that neither really wants.

When I arrived in Srinigar, a 15-day stretch of 23-hour-a-day curfews had just ended in some parts of the city-only to be re-imposed for May Day. After the army celebrated the holiday by keeping everyone in doors, the curfew was lifted again from 9am to 6am.

In the older part of the city, where the initials of the jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front are sometimes daubed across the fronts of ancient wooden houses, people were stocking up with food. Those who could not afford to buy were collecting hand-outs of government rice at a weighing station guarded by the Central Reserve Police, a paramilitary formation with a Black and Ten reputation when it comes to bashing Muslims.

Veiled young women, tented to the sghaue of salt cellars by their burqas, for many a new badge of Islamic defiance, took uncertain steps around the puddles. An officer of the Rajput regiment, who wear jhackle feathers in their berets like British Fusiliers, bought tomatoes from a barrow boy while his men stood by with rifles.

Mustafa was in a bite of state. At this time of the year, the start of the tourist season, there are normally five Airbuses a day to Srinigar. India Airlines has reduced to this to a daily 737 and our flight was barely half full. There were 10 foreigners on board, including two Hong Kong Chinese couples and a New Zealand postwoman called Helen who had been before

Mustafa had just spent the best part of three weeks trying to get visas for three Western countries, including one he had already visited twice this year. But the Delhi consulates are braced for an exodus from vanishes. All Mustafa's application were refused.

Kashmir's finished,' he said, one of those brutal, young msn's sentences you could imagine him telling his parents. Everybody is going to Thailand. There are no bookings. But I couldn't stay in Delhi any longer. The money I was spending and the heat was bad enough, but then the bombs started to go off and the police told people to watch out for suspicious objects and people.

'They were probably Sikhs' bombs, but they arrested nine Kashmiris. You can tell people's attitude is changing to wards us. They call us Khans in Delhi because they think we're related to the Afghans and they can pick us out right qway because we've got brighter akina and different shaped faces.'

However, Mustafa assured me that when we arrived all would be his family's tourist houseboat, on the Dal lake, which were never bothered by the army or the police because everyone knew there were no terrorists among the houseboat people. The only other accommodation was a couple

of hotels watched by Indian security forces. The lake seemed the best choice. At Sringar airport some toughies in civilian clothes, armed with the same Kalashnikovs and German sub-machine guns used by the terrorists, watched us board the bus for the city.

There were several army checkpoints and the only other traffic was military trucks with a Bren-gunner on the roof and a couple of riflemen pointing their weapons over the tail-board. It became apparent that the curfew was on again. Helen, the Auckland postie, said a little nervously that she felt like she was in a movie. The Hong Kong Chinese couples announced that they would sew Indian Airlines, which they claimed had assured them that the curfew had been lifted for all time. There was worse to come.

For the first time since the new Kashmiri troubles, the houseboats on Dal lake had been subject to a massive army search. It had started at 3am and ended in the early afternoon shortly before we arrived. During that time nobody had been allowed to leave their boat. Some of the troops had been Gurkhas, of whom the Indian Army employs many more than the British.

There had been panic. One of Mustafa's friends had shaved off a full beard, the same Islamic cut he wore without any visible tendencies towards fundamentalism, while the army searched the next boat. Mustafa's mother had thrown his trekking boots overboard—the ones he wore in the Himalayas—the ones he wore in the Himalayas—because there was a rumour that the army suspected decent boots belonged to people who had hiked in from Pakistan.

The 60 Nepalese soldiers we saw brewing tea alongside their trucks seemed cheerful enough. At first the houseboat people confirmed this image, saying the Gurkhas had been well behaved and nothing like the Central Reserve Police. When one Gurkha soldier toppled out of a shikara, the canoes used for local travel, one of Mustafa's younger brothers was among his rescuers.

Then, as day turned into night and the shikaras darted between the boats, the other stories started to come in: of people being beaten up; of a young man suffering with a brain tumour who had to be rushed to hospital; of children being asked where the men with the guns were; of a Sony Walkman being stolen.

Some boats were said to have been practically dismembered. Yet when Mustafa's father told them he was unable to open his son's case, because he did not know the lock combination, the Gurkhas did not try to force it.

As so often in these cases the truth probably matters less than what people believe. The next day the man with the brain tumour died and people started telling me that it was undoubtedly the army who caused it.

People like Mustafa and his family are by no means militant. They

want the good life. But deprived of their livelihood and unable to leave, they are rapidly reaching the state where they have nothing more to lose.



The Sunday Weekly, Calcutta.

April 1-7, 1990.

SPECIAL REPORT

"In Kashmir, there is an unwritten stricture: television sets are to be switched off at the hour when the rest of India is glued to theirs. Watching *Mahabharat*, and the other great audience draw, the Sunday evening Hindi film, is banned in Kashmir as these wildly popular programmes are considered cultural invasions, according to militant groups who hold sway over the people of the Valley.

"Membership to the Daughters of the Faith, which is open, seems to grow by the week as women respond to calls and spill into the streets in defiance of the para-military forces and the imposition of Section 144.

"After the rape incident in Chhanpora on 8 March, when Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) men allegedly molested eight women (in the absence of any official statement, the figure has been wildly exaggerated in Srinagar), thousands of women took to the streets on 14 March (the earliest they could, in curfew conditions) to protest against the crime. Demonstrating in front of the UN Military Observer's office, an angry protester, Naheed, screamed, 'You boast a secular nation. Why should your people, even Hindus, be silent about these Sitas? Your government is the terrorist, not us'. Shortly after, the procession was dispersed with tear-gas and lathi-charges.

"After 40 years of exemplary communal amity, which according to one leader, should 'be a glorious example for the entire world', there is an attempt being made to communalise the Kashmir crisis. 'Your government's policy is to tarnish the brotherhood of our people', accuses Arif, an active member of one of the Forum's groups, the Jamiat-e-Tulba, whose beliefs coincide with the women's group. 'They want to communalise this issue, and this is the biggest conspiracy against our movement. Tell your people that we are not against the Hindus, but against imperialism'."



Write-up Nawa-i-Waqt, Rawalpindi
April 6, 1990

KASHMIR: FORTY YEARS OF ANGER

Reproduced from Asia Week

Small children, some of them no older than three, scream at a visitor, "We want freedom". Then they run away, laughing. Older people say much the same thing, but they don't laugh. Srinagar, the capital of Kashmir, has the feel of an occupied city. Except for ten days in February, a curfew has been in force for all part of the day since January 21st. The main streets are patrolled by armed policemen flown in from other parts of India. Vehicle and body searches are routine. India means to hang on to the two-thirds of Kashmir it runs. Pakistan, which runs the other third of Kashmir, is equally insistent that the Kashmiris of both section should be allowed self-determination. It hopes that the Muslim majority would vote for the whole of Kashmir to join Pakistan. Two weeks ago Pakistan's Prime minister, Miss Benazir Bhutto, visited Pakistani "Azad" (Free) Kashmir. She made a rousing speech and set up a \$4m fund to help "freedom fighters". The Indian Prime minister, Mr. V.P.Singh, tells Pakistan that it is interfering in India's internal affairs at its peril. The truth is that both Pakistan and India are getting increasingly belligerent because neither knows how to cope with what has become a full-scale insurgency.

The possibility of war, which had receded in February, is again in sight. A few months ago the secessionist movement was confined to roughly 2,000 militants who had indulged in a campaign of bombing and killing against India "oppression". The limited insurgency turned into a popular uprising on January 20th, when police opened fire on a demonstration in a narrow street in Srinagar. It unleashed pent-up resentment against 40 years of rule by local puppet regimes brought to power through rigged elections. The anger of Kashmir's Muslims is also aroused by what many of them see as a humiliating dependence on India for the state's supply of necessities; and even by the "arrogance" of Indian tourists". Mr. Singh's ministers realise that this is not a game they can win. The prime minister is committed to holding an election in Kashmir as soon as things return to normal. But normality seems far away. The sentiment in favour of independence is so strong that it has swamped the fundamentalists' earlier demand for a plebiscite to decide whether Kashmir should go to India or Pakistan, or neither. This could pose a problem for Pakistan's government, which is not at all keen in surrendering its bit of Kashmir to an independent state. India believes in stridency of Ms Bhutto's statements on Kashmir is at least partly born of a desire to pre-empt a call for independence. But no Indian government, least of all minority one, can abandon Kashmir and expect to survive. If both India and Pakistan become prisoners of their own words, they could yet drift into a war that neither of them wants.



Indian Express,
April 8, 1990

KASHMIR: THE TRUTH

by V. M Tarkunde

Sir,

The statement recently made in New Delhi by Mr Jagmohan, Governor of Jammu and Kashmir, and reported by the press this morning indicate that he is either out of touch with the Kashmir valley which is hardly possible, or that he does not want the Indian people to know the truth.

I have very recently returned from Srinagar where I had gone as a member of the PUCL team along with Justice Rajinder Sachar, Dr Amrik Singh and three younger colleagues. Our report will be prepared and published on a few days, but it is necessary in the meantime that some of the bizarre statements of Mr Jagmohan should not remain uncontradicted.

Mr. Jagmohan is reported to have asserted that the story of the alienation of the Kashmir valley people is "not correct" and that the people are "terrified", presumably by the militants. The fact is that the entire Muslim population of the Kashmir valley is wholly alienated from India, and due to the highly repressive policy pursued by the Administration in recent months, their alienation has not turned into bitterness, anger and hatred. It would be very difficult to find a Muslim resident of the Kashmir valley who does not passionately desire complete independence from India.

Mr. Jagmohan is also reported to have said that the present, almost continuous curfew is imposed in order to provide safety to the people 'from the militants'. Nothing can be further from the truth. Rightly or wrongly, the militants have become, heroes of the Kashmir Muslims and the people have no reason to be afraid of them. The almost continuous curfew has been imposed in order to prevent the people from coming together for organising procession and demonstrations, and also possibly to tame their hostile spirit. The people bitterly resent the curfew and look upon it as a method of keeping them in effective house arrest.

They have caused by the excesses of the paramilitary forces should not be underestimated as Mr. Jagmohan has done. During the two day we passed in Srinagar, many entirely innocent persons were killed, maimed or brutally beaten up by the paramilitary personnel.

The leader of the National Front Government should realize that despite, the obvious constraints under which they have to work, it is they who are ultimately responsible for what happens in Kashmir. The Jagmohan administration is their administration. Unless the present repressive policy is reserved, there is no way of preventing the separation of the Kashmir valley from India except by the use of ever increasing brutal force.



The Main Stream,
April 7, 1990

REPRESSION NO SOLUTION

by Inder Mohan

Leaders of what is described as insurgency on Kashmir have succeeded in making that into a people's movement. They maintain that they have been driven against the wall by the persistent; outrageous malpractices prevalent in the State for many years.

Among their several charges against the establishment, the major ones they recount are endemic corruption, rigged elections, effort to erode the Kashmir identity and moves to communalise the State and letting loose repression, against the people.

Along with Balraj Puri, a civil liberties activist and a noted writer, I went to Kashmir recently. We were able to visit places such as Gaw Kadal, Zakura, Sonwar, Basant Bagh, Nadargund, Chhota Bazar, Zaina Kadal, Bone and Joint Hospital at Burzula, Zero Bridge Mosque, Raj Bagh Mosque, Khrew Batamalu and Peer Bagh. There we met eye witnesses to killings, those who had been seriously injured, victims of arson and loot with houses broken into and damaged. We met women who were molested - and two of them raped-and also those who had lost their near and dear ones because of firings by the security forces. In addition to the places mentioned above, we also went to homes of the Kashmiri Pandits and Sikhs and had detailed discussions with H.N. Jattu, the respected representative of Kashmiri Pandits. They told us that they had no complaint against the Kashmiri Muslims. They were as warm and friendly as ever. But the overall situation created a feeling of insecurity for them. Wherever we went, we found ourselves addressing public meetings. Their strength varied between 350 and 900 including a large number of women and youth. They all came on their own, narrated their tale of woe and then listened to us with rapt attention. During our stay, groups of individuals including local journalists, government officials, lawyers, doctors, traders and representatives of youth also met us. Everywhere we found convergence of views of the following issues:

1. "We want freedom, we want independence for ourselves. We will never accept domination of India or Pakistan". These slogans raised by women, young and men conveyed their message loudly and clearly. "We want the anti-people curfew raj to be ended. What to say of our day to day necessities of life, we cannot ever purchase white shroud for our dead victims. We can not take our patients to hospitals because of curfew. Daily wage earners are being subjected to enforced starvation".

2. At these places the people gave heart-rendering accounts of how the security forces were gunning down the Muslims of the valley. Their unprecedented huge and peaceful processions were blocked by paramilitary forces at particular points by putting heavy vehicles on both ends. They

resorted to firings at random and killed many.

3. Another significant demand which came from one and all was that many of the muslims wanted the Kashmiri Pandit families to return to their homes. "We are all Kashmiris and we can guarantee better security to them than all the so-called security forces put together". The Kashiri muslims contention is that their brethren Kashmiri Pandit are being deliberately evacuated to communalise the situation in the valley in particular and outside too. According to them, the administration has been creating panic among the Pandits that there was going to be massive house-hunting in the coming operations of the Pro-Pak militants. "Security forces will have to shoot down offenders and in such a melee it will be impossible to distinguish between the Pandits and the Muslims". For all this the people blame the RSS, the Vishwa Hindu Parishad (VHP) and the BJP.

4. As regards dissolution of the State assembly, the people are not only indifferent but react with revulsion even at its mention. For them the assembly was a fraud played on them. But all news that the "decision to dissolve the assembly was widely hailed" are baseless. Similarly efforts to revive the assembly will end up in futility they maintain categorically.

5. Today, it is the JKLF with its slogan of Independence Kashmir which is the dominant force. This organisation believes in recognition of the ethnic rights of the people of the valley and of Jammu and Ladaka regions, and reorganisation of the entire State accordingly. In fact they want the non-Muslim people of the State to join hands in the struggle for independence of the State as a whole unit with Pak-occupied Kashmir included and make it viable and strong on the basis of ethnic unity and requisite decentralisation of power. Whereas the JKLF is consistent in its progressive, democratic and secular stand, the pro Pak fundamentalist splinter groups do not have even a margin hold. The JKLF further believes that the Kashmir State can once again regain its glory as a symbol of communal harmony and can become a bridge between the people of Pakistan and India. That would be a lasting friendship to bring about peace and prosperity for the people of the subcontinent. This can also be a basis for negotiation for a feasible solution.

Will negotiations between the Central Government and the JKLF take place at all? Today it is a matter of speculation. The rigid attitude of the Government to the effect that peace first and negotiations afterwards will pay no dividends. There has to be flexibility. Efforts for peace and negotiations based on objective realities have to proceed side by side. with Jagmohan as the Governor, this may not fructify, because he has become the symble of repression.

There are authentic reports from the Jammu region as well that the local people, that is, the Dogras, are getting restive by the presence of the Kashmiri Pandits among them for such a long time. They resented the fomentation of communal riots in Jammu City and want to live peacefully

with the local Muslims. Such positive reports seldom find their way to the media. Many of the Jammu Hindus feel that the Kashmiri Pandits can continue to live in the valley peacefully provided the government wants it.

Our Government and its supportive parties must realise that no amount of security forces and their unjustifiable firings, mass arrests, inhuman treatment of prisoners in jails, shifting of prisoners to faraway jails outside Kashmir can work. Today it is anybody's guess as to how many have been shot dead, how many are languishing in jails without trial, what type of third degree treatment is being given to them. In any case, the numbers of all of them run into hundreds and are certainly not in tens or twenties. The determination of the people to fight to the end for their objectives is something to be seen to be believed. They feel inspired by the developments in the Soviet Republics, the East European countries and at the withdrawal of the Russian forces from Afghanistan. The people of Kashmir draw a parallel or contrast between the realistic response of Gorbachev to the situation there and the drifting or oppressive response of our leaders to the problem of Kashmir.

The people of Kashmir have developed a high level of political consciousness over the years. They can neither be taken for granted nor can they be taken in by the meetings of all parties and so-called consensus emerging from them. They ask a pertinent question: where is the involvement of people in such futile exercise?

As regards the atrocities committed by the security forces, the least that our Government can do is to train our paramilitary forces as saviours of innocent people and not as their killers.

Along with this, free flow of correct news within the Kashmir State and outside should be guaranteed. Attempts to put the ugly realities under the carpet or to thwart and distort news have always been and will continue to be counter-productive.

It is the foremost duty of all the human rights organisations to take the initiative in developing a closer relationship between the people of Kashmir State, and the people of India and Pakistan.

Invariably Government confabulations have been escalating mutual tensions and hostilities. It is the present day politically conscious progressive peoples of India and Pakistan who can bring about peace and also force their respective establishments to set up truly decentralised federal Governments in the subcontinent. Such Governments based on the people's genuine support can insure fundamental human rights for all who need them most.



The Sunday Observer, New Delhi.
April 14, 1990.

THE VALLEY REACTS

by Prem Shanker Jha

Srinagar looked like an occupied city.

Except for 10 days in February, dusk-to-dawn curfew has been imposed on the city since January 20. When there is trouble, the curfew is extended to cover all but the first few hours of the day.

There is an unprecedented degree of mobilisation of the people of the valley against rule by "India". Small children scream "Azadi" at you.....

Increasingly, the Muslim population of the valley is reacting as a unit to each and every story of police "Zulum"....

.....How has Kashmir gone from sullen acquiescence to full blown insurgency in such a short time? Everyone was unanimous is saying that is happened on January 21, 1990, when the police opened fire with automatic weapons on a procession of demonstrators in a narrow street in the Gawakadal area of Srinagar. Estimates of the numbers killed range from 20-odd (government figures), to 50-plus (according to Kashmiri journalists), to 200 (say the militants). But the numbers are immaterial. In a valley that has never known such indiscriminate killing, Gawakadal has become the Kashmiri's Jallianwala Bagh.

....So long as the CRPF are out on the streets, there will be an unending supply of martyrs and opinion against India will continue to harden. The option that the government is trying to exercise, of first restoring law and order, boosting the morale of the administration and the police, and then infiltrating the militants' network and isolating them, does not exist.

The harsh truth is that there are only two ways in which Kashmir can remain a part of India. The first is if most of its Muslim population is driven out. The second is with the consent of its Muslim population.

All those who bitterly speak of taking "a hardline" in Kashmir are either incredibly stupid or incredibly brutal. For, the hard line will escalate violence until New Delhi is forced to adopt a scorched-earth policy.

The uprising in Kashmir is proof that government after government has failed to live up to the lofty ideals enshrined in India's Constitution. We can try to shift the blame by saying that every Kashmiri Muslim is a Pakistani at heart. But this is simply not

true. Even today... the vast majority of Kashmiri Muslims are not communal.

The truth is that in the last 40 years, Kashmir has been integrated economically with the rest of India, but has been treated a political pariah.

Economic forces have also been at work in the 1980s to undermine Kashmir's tenuous political bonds with the rest of India. In this decade, a new generation of educated Kashmiri Muslims arrived in the job market, and found that there were no jobs.

....Every central government outpost in Kashmir was overwhelmingly staffed with Kashmiri Hindus. To a young Kashmiri Muslim, the prospect of entering the troubled communal waters of 'Hindustan' in search of a job, with no friends or relatives to speak for them or shelter them, was forbidding. They stayed in the valley, nursing their discontent, until they heard the militants' call to arms.



The Sunday Weekly, Calcutta.
April 15-21, 1990.

by Shiraz Siddhva

'The decision to appoint Jagmohan, as the Governor of Kashmir, has back-fired badly. The Kashmiris have never been as alienated from India as they are today. Admittedly, any man assigned the task of governing the Valley would have become equally unpopular. Yet, Jagmohan's attitude to the problem ensured that he became a hateful symbol of repression out to crush (in the Kashmiris' perception) a legitimate freedom movement. Each wave of protest brought on a fresh assault from an administration that essentially saw its task as that of enforcing law and order, at any cost. If in early January, there were any doors open for dialogue between the militant leaders and the government, the Governor and his advisers saw to it that they were banged shut.

"Has India then lost Kashmir? Is the situation as hopeless and irretrievable as it seems in the curfew-bound city of Srinagar?"

"The 'information' network of the militants is as deadly as it is all-pervasive. Journalists in Kashmir are constantly amazed at how identical versions of tales are related in different corners of the Valley. For instance, within hours of the Chhanpora incident of 8 March, rumours had spread like wildfire about how 300 women had been assaulted during a CRPF search. The loudspeakers of mosques blare out

incendiary messages and slogans. In the afternoon, crowds gather at street corners to read the '*tauza khubar*' (late news) that the militants publish and paste all over the city. Such news include local events, international developments, hit-lists that are constantly updated, and fresh threats, besides vicious cartoons and analyses by the militants.

"Local newspapers have all but terminated publication. Those that are still published express the views of the militants. The video revolution too is doing its bit to spread the militants' message.

"After the killing of Doordarshan station director Lassa Koul (in a letter he wrote to the Information and Broadcasting Ministry days before his death, Koul warned it of the consequences of blocking out news of Kashmir), the radio and television stations were hurriedly moved out. And the Kashmiris joked that the one line that was true on the radio news — 'This is Radio Kashmir from Srinagar' — also became a lie.

"Despite claims that the administration has been considerably strengthened by its efforts, the Valley is bereft of essential services like post and telecommunications and banking facilities. The old building of the General Post Office is crumbling under the weight of millions of undelivered letters. The nationalised banks have been boycotted due to threats from the militants, leaving only the Jammu and Kashmir Bank in operation. The long hours of curfew and the flight of Kashmiri Pandits, who held most of the key posts in the State, have brought the administration to a grinding halt."



The Times of New York.
April 16, 1990.

EXODUS FROM KASHMIR

by Edward W Desmond

In war, few things are more certain than the flight of the fearful. The conflict in the Kashmir Valley may not yet qualify as a war, but the cross fire between Indian security forces and Kashmiri militants seeking to shake off Indian rule has steadily intensified since the beginning of the year, claiming at least 328 lives. For many Kashmiris, the current level of violence is worrisome enough. Some are fleeing for safety, others in search of the means to fight back. Whatever the motivation, an exodus is underway.

Kashmiri Muslims are also fleeing the valley. Their destination is Azad Kashmir, a slice of Kashmir under Pakistan's control. So far, an estimated 5,000 Kashmiris have pushed through deep snow, steep mountain terrain and Indian army patrols to make their escape. Of these, at least 500 are villagers who fled what they

describe as a reign of terror by Indian security forces.

One of the refugees is Anwar Shah, 65, a farmer from Kaitha Wali, a hamlet in Kupwara district close to the frontier; alongwith 139 others from the village, he slipped off to Azad Kashmir late last month. In Athmuqam, a village on the Neelam River in Azad Kashmir, Shah and his companions claimed last week that Indian troops had defiled their mosque, abducted three girls to an army post, forced local boys to work as porters for no pay, beat anyone who annoyed them and pressed for information on Kashmiri militants. As more and more troops arrived in the area, the villagers decided that they had to flee. "When someone is going for your throat," said Shah, "you must run." The escape had a price: an Indian patrol shot dead one straggler; several people suffered frostbite; and two women apparently lost their sanity during the ordeal. The villagers were relieved to be in Azad Kashmir. "When the snows melt," said one, "many more will follow."

Other Muslim refugees are not simple villagers but angry young men looking for arms and training in the aftermath of numerous killings by Indian security forces in Srinagar. "They are all over Muzaffarabad," says a flustered Azad Kashmir official. "We don't know what to do with them." The Azad Kashmir government last week began efforts to pull the refugees into camps near Muzaffarabad, but that may not be easy. Militant Kashmiri Muslim organizations, mainly the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front and Jamat-i-Islami, are rounding up potential recruits and taking them to their own camps. Sheikh Rashid, an Opposition member of Pakistan's National Assembly who has close ties with the J.K.L.F., claims to be feeding and sheltering 1,310 young men. Says one youth: "We have come here for help. We want arms."



Greater Kashmir, Srinagar
April 18, 1990.

BLACK FRIDAY AT PAAZIPORA

by Kh. Gullam Nabbi Khayal

Survivor's tell-tall Account of the Mayhem

Paazipora is a small and isolated village about 15 km from the border town of Kupwara, about 100 km North-west of Srinagar. On August 10, 1990, some unidentified armed militants attacked an army patrol in Dedikot village, 2 km away from Paazipora. The official sources said in the evening that in this attack, 12 militants were killed and 4 soldiers injured. With the death toll going up to 26

on August 12, the Radio Kashmir, Srinagar, which broadcasts its all news bulletins from the studios of all-India in New Delhi, quoted an official source repeating that militants were killed in Paazipora. This time, the number of those "militants" killed in all was given out to 24.

Mr. Ghulam Nabi Kahyal, a senior Journalist from Kashmir, who is also a national award winning poet and writer, visited Paazipora on Sunday, August 12, for an on-the-spot investigation and reporting.

Mr. Kahyal, who represents the Voice of America, the United Press International news agency, Washington Post, and two leading Pakistani dailies, Nawa-i-Waqt and the Nation, reports about the incident:

The highly decomposed body of 60-year old Abdul Subhan Bhatt lay there under the shade of a walnut tree. His newly prepared grave the 25th in the last of seven rows, was now ready to conceal his stinking body. Bhatt had been shot in his right armpit and bruises and cuts were seen on his both arms indicating that he had been tortured before death.

The graves with no name-plates or gravestones were of those old and young Kashmiris who were killed in a massacre by the Indian army-men in Paazipora village, about 115 km north-west of Srinagar on the morning of Friday, August 10, 1990.

According to eye witnesses, some militants had opened fire on an army patrol or a convoy on that day around 10.30 A.M. The incident took place in Didikot village, about 2 Km from Paazipora. This correspondent also saw windowpanes of the army vehicles shattered at two places in Didikot village which he had to pass through before reaching Paazipora. Since no one was seen present in the village, one could not have an account of what actually happened in Dedikot.

"We don't know what happened there. We did hear some gun shots. Within minutes about 350 army men attacked our village Paazipora and opened fire with light machine guns on people working in paddy fields and collecting driftwood and grass for their cattle in nearby forest. We have recovered 25 bodies so far. At least 50 people including some girls from this village are still missing. They also set fire to 19 houses in the village," said Ghulam Qadir Dhobi, 65-year old farmer from the village. He broke down when he said, "They raped our women. They killed eleven people of the age group of 60 to 80 years."

The villagers, mostly farmers, wearing filthy clothes and frightful look on their fallen faces, repeatedly narrated horrifying incidents of a first ever mass killings of this magnitude after the

state was declared a disturbed area on July 5, 1990 conceding more powers to the army and the paramilitary forces to shoot to kill or destroy houses which had been in use as hideouts for the underground militants.

Each one of them strongly refused the Government's assertion that those killed were militants. "We swear by our Almighty Allah. We swear by our Prophet Muhammad, (PBUH) that none of them was a militant. We would not be so shocked had they (the army) killed even a single militant. You see, they were school-going children and they were old men with long grey beards," said Malik Ghulam Rasool, member of the State Legislative Council belonging to the National Conference and representing this backward area. (Malik Ghulam Rasool was also shot dead by soldiers of BSF in Handwara town on October 1, 1990 when soldiers killed 25 civilian and set the entire town on fire.) The middle-aged legislator added, "I myself saw bodies of at least two school boys. They were Farooq Ahmad Bhatt, 15 and Nazir Ahmad Dar, 18." Tears rolled down from his eyes when he said, "The skull of little Farooq Ahmad Bhatt, a student in the 9th class, had been broken open with the stroke of a rifle butt."

Farooq Ahmad Bhatt's father, Ghulam Ahmad Bhatt, 50, an activist in the State Government Employees Federation, said, "My son, Farooq was going to school when army men chased him. His school-bag fell down and he stopped. They told him to raise his hands above his head. Then they shot him in both his hands. He started running towards a field. They caught hold of him and shot him, right in his chest." Bhatt added, "My another son, Bashir Ahmed Bhatt, a medical student, was also shot dead. I myself was beaten up most mercilessly by army men despite my telling them that I was an Indian and was associated with the All-India Government Employees Federation with Sukumar Sen as its president. I told them that I had taken part in conferences in Bombay, Calcutta and Delhi as a nationalist."

He showed his back which was swollen with beating by the soldiers. His daughter, Naseema Akhtar, a nurse by profession, asked everyone in a state of unconsciousness that she wanted her two brothers back. A villager said that with the death of Bashir Ahmed Bhatt, the village was deprived of having the first would-be doctor from this remote village after 43 years of "independence".

Ghulam Ahmad Bhatt also said that his 35-year old nephew, Mohammad Jamal Dar, a mentally retarded person, was also shot dead in the house of a neighbour. "He was under treatment in the Mental Hospital in Srinagar for about two years. We brought him to

the village only a few days ago. Even he was not spared by ruthless killers of the Indian army," he said.

The sleepy village surrounded by thick woods and paddy fields and inhabited by about 1,500 people presented a ghastly look of a devastated locality. Nineteen house reduced to ashes and the survivors including panicky children looking around aimlessly.

"I am still looking for the mortal remains of my 8-year old daughter, Haleema, who was burnt alive when army men set my house on fire," lamented Sara Bano. She had beaten her face in anguish which was bleeding profusely. her husband, Ghulam Nabi Tantray, a salesman in a cooperative supply shop, had also been taken away by the soldiers, she said and gave a loud cry.

Mali Begum, a widow, dragged this correspondent in an act of desperation towards the new graveyard weeping and saying, "My two sons are buried here. See for yourself. they were shot dead right before my eyes outside my house before setting that on fire. They were Mohammad Shafi, 19 and Mohammad Yasin, 18," she said and added that her another son, Mohammad Yusuf 22, was taken away by the army men. "Have they killed him too?" she asked with nobody answering her query. Her last son, Sallem Ahmad, 11, studying in the 6th class, was weeping loudly holding firmly his mother's both hands. His both eyes had turned blood red.

Mohammad Ramzan Tantray, 60, said that three women were gangraped by about 14 soldiers in a house in adjoining village of Balipora where they had taken refuge after crackdown on Paazipora. he identified them as Jana Bano and Taja Bano, both 25 and married recently, and Ateeqa Bano, an unmarried girl of 18 years of age who was also deprived of her two wrist watches and Rs. 5,000 in cash after being gangraped for about one hour. when I saw her bruised breasts, torn out clothes and blood stained trousers, I thought, was this the real face of Indian democracy" said Tantray. The raped women whose houses were deserted in the village had since left and were hiding in a adjacent village.

A local police officer, requesting anonymity, confirmed that three women had been raped and that he was registering a case on his own because the villagers had not come to file the complaint in the police station perhaps feeling shy.

"We will offer more sacrifices but we will not remain in India anymore," said an infuriated Nazir Ahmed, 22, a teacher in a local school. "What can they give us to compensate our innocent blood shed in the lanes and fields of our village? Only freedom and nothing short of that," he added and began shivering in rage."

The killing had caused further alienation of these people and they were speaking in terms of "freedom, martyrdom and shedding of more blood to give more sacrifices for achieving the goal of independence." Abdul Rashid Dar, an employee in the state Horticulture department, said that an army commandant had come to the village on Saturday, August 11, and had apologised for the wrong done by his soldiers. "We told him straightaway, give us 26 dead bodies of your army men against our 26 villagers butchered by your soldiers. He could not answer this and left the village," he said.

In order to ascertain facts in an elaborate way and to have the judicial version on this unfortunate happening, this correspondent, along with three other Srinagar-based newsmen, sought an interview with the Deputy Commissioner of Kupware, Mushtaq Ganai, and the Deputy Inspector General of Police Baramulla, Mohan Raj who were perhaps holding a meeting in the residential house of the Superintendent of police, Kupwara, S.K.Mishra. We sent our cards but were not called in at least for 15 minutes when we kept waiting in scorching sun outside the main gate on the roadside.

Both the Deputy Commissioner and the D.I.G Police, who seemed to be quite confused while receiving us tried their best to evade our questions saying, "We can't tell you anything because we are still trying up with the army" Mushtaq Ganai, telling a blatant lie said. "Only seven houses were burnt and we are finding out as to how many of those killed were militants." The D.I.G Police added, "The army says that there was quite a sizable number of militants in the list of those shot dead,"

"Did you ascertain the facts yourself" he was asked. He had no answer to offer. We had been told by residents of Paazipora that the affected village and the bereaved families were visited by these officials 30 hours after the gruesome tragedy had occurred. "They came, stood here for sometime and assured us that all those missing or arrested would be traced out or set free by Saturday evening. They are still missing," said Abdul Hammed, an educated youth of Paazipora while speaking to this correspondent in the afternoon on Sunday, August 12.

The villagers complained that both the Deputy Commissioner and the D.I.G. Police behaved as if nothing had happened. "We have yet to see a Deputy Commissioner like Mushtaq Ganai, who is a coward and has no conscience," said a villager, "Our state police and the civilian officers are functioning in this sensitive district as if they are slaves of the army men. They have no moral courage to reprimand the army for this massacre." said

another villager.

A government spokesman, when contacted on phone by this correspondent on the morning of Monday, said that the information given by the authorities appears to be correct.

The information given out by the government through the radio in its news bulletins repeatedly said that "24 terrorists were killed in Paazipora in the wake of a cross-firing which took place on Friday."



Muslim, Islamabad.

April 19, 1990

KASHMIR: IGNORING OTHER VOICES

BY ABBAS RASHID

An insightful and detailed report on situation in Kashmir compiled by a delegation of four that visited the state in march 1990 on behalf of the Independent Committee for Initiative on Kashmir has largely been ignored by the mainstream Indian media. An obvious reason is the report's strong criticism of the treatment of Kashmir at the hands of successive Indian governments and in particular, of the violence and repression being currently unleashed by the incumbent administration on the Kashmiri people. But it is not as if the report recommends self-determination for the people of Kashmir. Its only concession in this direction is a solitary reference to keeping in mind "the recent international developments which have brought to the fore the question of the right of self-determination". Otherwise, it essentially seeks to examine the position of Jammu and Kashmir in the general context of Center-state relations in India arguing that one of the main grievances that set apart the people of Kashmir from other disgruntled elements within India "citizenry was their feeling of being "deprived of their right to establish and institutionalise their separate identity vis-s-vis the Indian state". However, there seem to be few takers in India for such alternative analysis on Kashmir.

The report identifies many reasons for the deteriorating situation in Kashmir. It cites number of cases of indiscriminate killings, arbitrary arrests, unlawful searches and unprovoked assaults on peaceful demonstrators. In this context it holds as mainly responsible the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Border Security Force (BSF) and in certain cases even the regular Indian army. While these forces, it maintains, have singularly rallied in securing the government objective of checking "terrorism" their actions directed as they are, in effect, against the vast masses of the Kashmiri people have succeeded in providing a "handful" of militants with a mass base. The CIK team regards the appointment of the state's incumbent governor Jagmohan, apparently on the recommendation of Bhartiya Janta Party (BJP), as a turning point in Kashmir "curfew raj". The report suggests that the much publicized exodus of Hindus from the valley

may even have been encouraged, if not by the Indian government then by the BJP. BJP seems to have played a fairly key role in bringing the situation of Kashmir to its present pass. On the one hand it is, in effect, advocating a harder line against the Muslim population of Kashmir and on the other encouraging the Hindu inhabitants of the valley to move out probably with a view to providing justification for the harsh policies of the Indian government in Kashmir earnestly advocated by the BJP. The CIK, for its part does not purport to have any simple answers. What it does emphasise strongly is the need for an open debate on the future of Jammu and Kashmir and for the issue to be examined in the context of Center-state relations in India. More immediately, however, it makes the following recommendations:

- (a) Recall of governor Jagmohan who is perceived by the people of Kashmir as a symbol of state repression.
- (b) Withdrawal of all para military forces.
- (c) Discontinuance of the 'curfew'.
- (d) Punishing of the security forces and army jawans who are found guilty of killing innocent people, raping women and destruction of property.

Recognising the inevitable resistance on the part of the Indian government to any such proposal on the grounds that it would cause demoralization among the forces and hamper their 'anti-terrorist' operation the report points out that they have failed to do that anyway but have meanwhile managed to "demoralize" the ordinary people of Kashmir there by providing a support base to the militants. The author warns that the present state of affairs is jeopardizing the secular character of the Indian state. Or wherever, little is left of it they could have added clearly with organizations like the BJP occupying a pivotal position in the present political arrangement in India, the idea of retaining any kind of secular ethos is not very realistic. The Indian government has not made practical effort to reach any kind of an accommodation with Kashmiri aspirations for self-determination and independence and has instead preferred to see issue simply in the context of the antagonistic Pakistan-India relationship. As a recent trip to Delhi last month appeared to confirm, it is also the relevant contest or a majority among the opinion makers as well as the ordinary citizens. There is much emphasis on the Simla Agreement-to the exclusion of the United Nations. The Rs.5 crore and Rs.10 crore funds for Kashmir announced by the Punjab Chief Minister and Pakistan's Prime Minister, respectively are cited as part of the evidence of Pakistan's interventionist designs in Kashmir. The P.M taking up in her public jalsas the slogan of Azadi in obvious emulation of the demonstrators chant in Srinagar has also figured prominently in the "intervention thesis". Of course the government has been assisted in no small measure, in projecting its biased reading of the problem by not only the official media but also a sizeable section of the independent press.

support for its aggressive stance towards Pakistan, having been painted the main culprit, has sought to press ahead with its advantage. Threats to Pakistan had acquired an alarming frequency as well as stridency of tenor. The prime minister of India V.P. Singh has promised on more than one occasion to "teach a lesson" and to fight a protracted war which would go beyond the issue of Pakistan's in Kashmir, presumably towards settling other sources as well. How all of this will resolve the problem of Kashmir, or for that matter Punjab, for India is far from clear. At best it will provide a brief respite of the kind it got from its internal problems as a result of aggression against Pakistan in 1971. For Pakistan, however, it makes little sense at this stage to provide India with the excuse for making what is essentially an issue of the right of people to determine their own fate into one based on conflicting claims on territory, whatever the merits of our case. A war between Pakistan and India would obviously be disastrous for people on both sides of the border. On the ground, therefore, Pakistan's policy must be very cautious even as it seeks to briefing the full weight of international opinion to bear on the Indian leadership on the issue of Kashmir. Recounting latest atrocities of Indian armed forces, the writer says, obviously the Indian government has yet to realise that such tactics can only succeed in firing the resolve of the Kashmir militants and extending their already vast support base among the Kashmiri people.



The Illustrated Weekly of India. Delhi.
April 22, 1990.

by Santosh Bharatiya

"It goes without saying that things couldn't have come to such a pass in merely two or three months. While it is imperative that we do what is necessary to improve the situation there and help rehabilitate the strife-torn Valley, it is far more important that we find out what actually happened there. Without this knowledge, we will never be able to learn about the injustices perpetrated in the past few years, nor will we be able to discern the identity of those who were primarily responsible for inflicting them.

"Srinagar's Engineering College is one of the biggest engineering colleges in Asia. Merely being a first ranker, however, will not gain one admission in this institute. It is imperative that one also possesses Rs. 5 lakhs. Without these qualifications, one cannot gain admission in this institute. When nearly 95 per cent of the population in the Valley is Muslim, why aren't they granted admission in this college? The same situation persists in Srinagar's medical college. It is absolutely necessary now that someone finds out how many among the doctors and engineers who have graduated and qualified in the past 5, 10 or 15 years are Kashmiris. The truth, as a matter of fact, is that predominantly, only outsiders have been gaining admission in Kashmir's engineering and medical colleges through the years.

"Tourism is the major industry in Kashmir. Yet, local Kashmiris are not granted finance to obtain new vehicles. Whereas a majority of Kashmir's taxi drivers and three-wheeler drivers are graduates.

"Those young men who wanted to set up small-scale enterprises of their own had to wait for two years instead of two months to get their work done. Banks shied of even glancing at their files unless Rs. 10,000 was placed before the officials. Subsidies for industrial enterprises also had suddenly been stopped.

"How much money was spent in the last 10 or 15 years to build roads in Kashmir and just how many roads were actually built? Who swallowed all that money? The Ministers or the bureaucrats? It is imperative that we receive a balance-sheet for all the previous years, now.

"All those who boasted of being Kashmir's representatives in the past never raised questions regarding the poor quality of the rice and dal that we almost always despatched to Kashmir, or why the rice that no one would even touch in Punjab was sent to Kashmir?

"Why are the same colleges that had existed during the days of the late Jawaharlal Nehru and the late Shaikh Abdullah still functioning even today? Why have new colleges not been opened? Why has primary education not been able to make its presence felt here even now? While at one end, there is no education available, at the other, the educated don't have jobs awaiting them. Schools in Kashmir don't declare holidays only on those days when holidays are mandatory. As a matter of fact, schools there are automatically closed whenever it rains, because the children often have no roof over their heads.

"I am able to understand the cause for the anger that the people of Kashmir are feeling. In the past, due to the unparalleled levels of corruption that had permeated the distribution of essential commodities, the average Kashmiri wasn't able to obtain anything. And then, suddenly one day, a youth brandished a pistol and threatened to kill the distributing authorities if they didn't begin distribution. The sale of essentials started soon enough in that particular locality; earlier, the people had shouted themselves hoarse and nobody had cared to listen.

"The responsibility for this situation lies solely with the National Conference and the Congress. They are responsible for this crime, as, on the one hand, they indulged in the uninhibited exploitation of Kashmir, and on the other, they treated the Kashmiris so badly, that they lost all faith in the democratic tradition. The rulers behaved as if they were dealing with their slaves, and it was as a result of this that the demand for freedom grew. They are guilty on another count. They didn't allow the news of the exploitation that was going on in Kashmir to filter down to the other parts of the country."



Al Majalla, vide The Nation , Lahore.

April 23, 1990.

LESSON IN INTERNATIONAL HYPOCRISY

by Fahmi Hawadi

The developments in Kashmir must be seen against the backdrop of events in Eastern Europe after the downfall of the Berlin wall and the mass exodus of East Germany to West Germany, says FAHMI HUWAIDI, the well-known Egyptian journalist who wrote this article for Al Majalla magazine, a sister publication of Arab News.

Why are the advocates of independence in Lithuania hailed as nationalists and patriots whereas those who call for self-determination in Kashmir are cast as terrorists and militant fundamentalists?

Why all hell breaks loose when Moscow shakes its fist in the face to the Lithuanians and do the symbols of power in the Western world from Bush to Thatcher to Mitterrand join hands in a chorus of protest whereas none raises so much as a finger when scores of Kashmiris are gunned down in Srinagar and Jammu?

The answer is quite obvious and, shocking as it may be it takes no one by surprise. It is just that former happens to belong to the Western world where the dignity of man means a great deal whereas the latter belongs to the third world where man is as cheap as dirt. On top of it Kashmiris are Muslims and as such deserve, in the canons of Western politics and mass media, to be treated with disdain and contempt.

It is true that the West has its private interests to reckon with when dealing with the Soviet Union and India, but that is surely no valid justification for using two different standards to judge two cases that have so much in common. In both Lithuania and Kashmir the will of the people has been usurped and rigged.

We add nothing new when we finally say that the rules for this international game are governed by undisguised hypocrisy, or that those who have been lecturing us for so long on morality and civilized conduct will never hesitate to uphold their private interests even if they have to trample under foot those very same values of which they are so much proud and which they never tire of urging us to appreciate.

We have on hand three cases of villains caught in the act. They all deserve further investigation. Kashmir and Lithuania represent the first case. Soon after Moscow loosened its grip, relatively speaking, on the peoples of the Soviet Union under Gorbachev's perestroika the Baltic peoples hastened to announce that they were victims of political rape and suppression committed at Stalin's time and resulted in the incorporation of their countries into the Soviet empire in 1940. Lithuania stole a march on its sisters, Estonia and Latvia, by declaring its independence from the Soviet

Communist Party, then Soviet state itself. Its Constituent Assembly elected a president then a prime minister. That set in motion other steps to establish the remaining state machinery the independent republic of 3.2 million needs.

How did the West react to these developments?

The mass media utilized the giant means at their disposal to bring the situation in Lithuania in focus and did everything to keep it that way. No wonder that it has now become the overriding concern of the press, the radio and television not only in Europe and the United States but also in the Arab world itself.

Thus the interests of the Soviet Union with the West were placed side by side with Moscow's policies toward Lithuania. The Soviet leadership would have to decide between the two. So far at least Moscow has honored its pledge not to resort to force and to search for a peaceful solution to the crisis.

The Kashmir issue came to a head at much the same time. It is true that the state has been in the grips of unrest for the last two years, but the situation took a turn for the worse toward the end of last year and the deterioration continues. Unrest is no new development in Kashmir. The state has continued to be a hotbed of unrest ever since it was annexed by India in 1947, a move that later triggered two wars between India and Pakistan in 1948 and 1965. The Kashmir problem was temporarily placed in the deep-freeze following Pakistan's defeat at the hands of India in 1971 during the war the two countries fought over East Pakistan's secession. Late last year clash accrued between Kashmiris and Indian police and were the forerunner of a wave of unrest that has been rolling on ever since. It is believed that at least 400 people have so far died in these clashes. Demonstrations and acts of violence have become a part of the daily life in Kashmir.

To curb the tide of unrest, the Indian authorities have declared a state of emergency in Kashmir, imposed curfew and dissolved the state assembly. This state of unrest has also resulted in the resignation of the government. The chain of events continues to unfold.

Those developments in Kashmir must be seen against the backdrop of events in Eastern Europe. After the downfall of the Berlin wall and the mass exodus of East Germans through it on their way to West Germany. The prime minister of the Pakistani part of Kashmir Iskandar Hayat Khan declared that he was ready to storm his cease fire-line between the two parts of Kashmir at the head of a large procession unless Indian authorities stopped their repressive measures against Kashmiris demanding to visit their brothers on the other side of the fence. He also threatened to do jihad for the recovery of the usurped rights unless the United Nations resolution calling for self determination for the Kashmiri people through a general plebiscite was respected.

Not so many are familiar with the roots of the problem. For its part India has been working hard at misrepresenting the facts. It all started with an agreement between India and Pakistan on denominational lines and in line with the desires of the populations concerned. The agreement was enforced everywhere except in three states: Junagadh, Hyderabad and Kashmir. The Muslim ruler of the tiny Junagadh state, populated mainly by Hindus, wanted the state to join with Pakistan. Unrest ensued and India, seizing the opportunity, annexed the state after the population voted in a plebiscite in favour of India. The second state, Hyderabad, with a Muslim ruler and predominantly Hindu population, chose to be independent from both India and Pakistan. Rejecting that, India invaded the state and annexed it in 1948.

The third state was Kashmir. With a predominantly Muslim population of more than 6 million and an area larger than that of Syria and Lebanon combined, Kashmir was under a Hindu maharaja who opted for merger with India. The population revolted and both India and Pakistan intervened militarily in support of their respective clients. India hastened to refer the conflict to United Nations, which to avoid the eruption of a full scale war between the two sides arranged for a cease-fire. But by then the Indian Army had occupied most of Kashmir leaving for the sparsely populated chunk of arid land.

The Kashmir issue has been dumped into the deep freeze of international forums since January 1948 in spite of India's high-handed manner in dealing with the issue. For it is India which invaded two states ruled by Muslim governors under the pretext that the Hindus were a majority in the two states. It is India again which will of the people of Kashmir and annexed the state by force. It is again a case of double standards.

India has continued since then to lend a deaf ear to Kashmir demands for self-determination. It ignored five resolutions passed by the United Nations Security Council in this continued calling for the implementation of these resolutions.

A new element has recently injected itself into the situation. The people of Kashmir themselves are the ones who are now taking to the streets in fighting for self-determination: that modest demand which India has so stubbornly declined to recognize and left in the dubious custody of international conscience and its symbols.

Now the Kashmiris who are calling for self-determination are understandably labeled by Indian mass media as terrorists, fundamentalists or militants. That much one can comprehend but what one cannot understand is the ease with which international news agency's have risen to the Indian bait and started using the very same tags under the impression that what is taking place now in Kashmir is merely a case of violence versus violence pitting Muslims against Hindu. Thus by a stroke of the pen the noble cause of the Kashmiris has been stripped of its humanitarian dimensions.

The stand of the Arab mass media on Lithuania and Kashmir is even more surprising. Having allowed themselves to swim with the Western current, the pillars of the Arab mass media devote far more space and time to the Lithuanian cause while playing down the importance of the fight waged by the Kashmiri people. No wonder that the Arab public opinion has come to know pretty little about Muslim Kashmir, the state that has remained a victim of political rape for the last forty years.



Nation, Lahore.
April 24, 1990.

KASHMIR IS AT WAR WITH INDIA

Reproduced from India Today.

India Today in its cover story, has thrown somelight on how situation in the Indian-held Kashmir has deteriorated from an Indian perspective. Freedom-fighters have been termed as fundamentalists, separatists and terrorists. Relevant portions of the report are reproduced here. It is a declared war with open moral, financial and logistical support from Pakistan. The reign of terror is squarely in the hands of the separatists. Through kidnappings, bombings, assassinations, religious blandishment and Press censorship-aided not least of all by the virtual abdication of governance by the Farooq Abdullah government during the last two years -- the secessionists have virtually achieved the administrative and psychological severance of the valley from India. And their tentacles are now spreading in Doda, Kistwar, Rajauri and Poonch.

In a cartographic and military scence, Kashmir remains with India. There is Ladakh in the north, Jammu in the south and the Indian army all along the actual line of control but within its circumfrence now lies an island, a virtually non-Indian entity called Kashmir easily vulnerable to Pakistani manipulation.

In Kashmir nobody, either out of fear or out of total alienation that pervades the region, now talks for India or even a settlement with the centre. That part is over. The movement has now arrived at a different crossroads. The debate is now whether they choose indipendence or Pakistan. The "Indian Dogs", as it were, have mostly gone home. -From Srinagar, Baramula, Tral, Pulwama, Anantnag, Kupwara, Handwara, Bandipore. - Businessmen, bankers, retired servicemen, hoteliers, tour operators and Kashmiri pundits. Those who remain are most in uniform, or the Indian officials sitting as soft targets for terrorist hit list in Srinagar Raj Bhawan, or the mini winterr secretarial, lonely outposts of the Indian Union. In what is surely one of the gratest refugee migrations in recent Indian history, some 90,000 Kashmiri pundits and other members of the minority community of a total of about 1.40,000 (4% of the population) living in the valley have fled their homes leaving property worth crores behind. Ane now, the 30,000 odd Sikh shopkeepers and farmers of Tral, Sopore and Baramula have begun to cry for protection if they, too, are not to migrate. Some have already

started moving out.

The movement is now largely conducted from the mosques from where thousands of loudspeakers preach jehad in a terrifying cacophony. And the fundamentalist cultural aggression has spread into everyday life. People must sport beards and wear the traditional Kashmiri garb. Wrist-watches, as in Pakistan, must be worn on the right hand and the time set back a half hour to correspond with that of Pakistan. Cinema halls, beauty and video parlours, symbols of Indian 'decadence' have remained closed for six months. Friday, not Sunday, is now observed as the day of rest. Indian newspapers are not circulated any more. In Kupwara, street dogs were affixed with discs around their necks with the inscription, 'Indian dogs', and in Khak nearby, effigies of Indian soldiers are hung from trees. In nearby Sopore, Militants impose their own road tax on civilian vehicles.

It is during curfew relaxation that the gunmen strike. The strategy is simple. Fire or hurl bombs at security personnel, assassinate a soft target and duck. Force the security forces to return the fire in which innocent civilians are often killed, fuelling further anti-Indian sentiments. According to government estimates, anywhere 2000 and 5000 automatic weapons, mostly Chinese made AK-47s, have been smuggled into the valley. The number of trained insurgents is about 600. But with a network of sympathisers now spreading into virtually every village in the valley with sophisticated information cells, they spell a formidable problem for the roughly 20,000 men of the paramilitary and police forces deployed mostly in large towns. Even finding a quick political fix in today's situation is pipe dream. The National Conference, whose members have defected in droves is a spent force. Its MPS dare not enter the valley without massive security escort. And the grave of its founding father, Sheikh Abdullah, is guarded round the clock by two security companies because the militants have threatened to defile it. Even Maulvi Farooq lives in a fortress which he insists should be guarded by not state police but central security forces.

The view from New Delhi is that in the long run, time is on its own side because in the peaks and valleys that characterise terrorism all over the world, the fundamentalists, when they realise that they can not really break loose of the India's grip, when they begin suffering economically, will wear down and seek a solution with the centre. But this is precisely the kind of thinking that led to escalating violence in Punjab. In Kashmir where the Centre has invested some Rs 70,000 crore in subsidies, what to say of the blood of Indian soldiers in two wars-- the nation faces what is perhaps the gravest challenge to the ideas on which its integrity is moored. There are no soft options left. And temporary reverses must not be allowed to reverse the process of a sustained reclamation. The country can no longer afford to behave like a tenant put on notice to vacate somebody else's property.



Times of India, New Delhi.
April 29, 1990.

by B. J. Verghese

"Nemesis has overtaken India in Kashmir as a visitor to the Valley soon discovers. The present crisis is a product of years of political mishandling at many levels especially during the past decade.

"There is an accumulation of bitterness and frustration and a sense of betrayal among Kashmiris that goes back four decades. The notion that current discontents stem from rank corruption, misappropriated development, unemployment and maladministration is not without foundation but is only partial truth. What bursts like a flood is pent-up anger over the systematic denial of democratic rights through crudely rigged elections over practically all the years since accession.

"I met a group of JKLF adherents. They were courteous, not afraid of dying and passionately firm in their insistence on '*azadi*' (Freedom). One had been a trusted National Conference worker earlier. No more talks (except about '*azadi*') and no more elections, they said. What then? Nehru's promise to let the people of J&K freely decide their own future must be fulfilled.

"There can be no meaningful dialogue on J&K, they claimed, unless the people of the State, the essential party to the dispute are represented. And the only relevant agenda can be the modalities for '*azadi*'.

"I did get to see Mian Abdul Qayyum, President of the Bar Association, Chairman of the newly-formed Tehrik-e-Hurriyat-e-Kashmir (Movement for the Liberation of Kashmir) consisting of 10 parties mostly of varying Islamic and conservative persuasions who constitute the overground in the current movement.

"The Tehrik manifesto, published in the Srinagar newspapers on March 17, declares freedom to be the birthright of all Kashmiris, recalls India's commitment to a plebiscite under the UN Security Council Resolution of January 5, 1952, forecasts the 'last phase' of what could however still be a long struggle, calls for the unity of all freedom-loving people, and urges the importance of rising above communalism.

"Surrounding these two inner rings is a larger circle of sympathisers rendered euphoric by the heady sweep of contemporary liberation history from the dismantling of the Berlin Wall and the fall of the Romanian tyranny to the alluring echoes of '*azadi*' along the trans-Caucasian-Pamir marches nearer home. This in turn is cocooned within a larger mass of those embittered, alienated and confused by the

seemingly endless and indiscriminate curfew since March 1, 1990: the preceding and subsequent firing and police action; harassing search and cordon operations following every incident: the closure of educational institutions: the pressing presence everywhere of security personnel with guns at the ready; and the economic and social hardship and dislocation caused by curfew and the flight to Jammu or elsewhere of Pandits and others who man key services and institutions in the Valley.

"Likewise the J&K situation is not communal though there is a real danger of communal polarisation as a result of the exodus of the Pandits from the Valley and the reaction to this migration in Jammu and Delhi, and in the media. According to a spokesman of the Kashmiri Pandit Association, some 65,000 out of an estimated 85,000 to 100,000 Pandits in the Valley had migrated by mid-March. There is certainly psychological pressure on them as a result of the cry for *azadi*, which rings ominously in their ears, some threats and selective killings. But Kashmiri Muslims repeatedly assert that the Pandits are their kinsmen and have nothing to fear as they have been and will be cared for and protected by their Muslim neighbours. No Hindu's house is said to have been looted or his property seized. The Hindus done to death so far are said to have been killed not because they were Hindus but because they were suspected rightly or wrongly, of being informers or agents. Many more Muslims have been killed on similar grounds."



Times of India, New Delhi.
April 29, 1990.

ACCIDENTAL TERRORISTS

by Ayesha Kagal

It was fine day. And his pale blue and white striped T-shirt and white jeans seemed colour coordinated with the backdrop a blinding Taj Mahal against an azure sky. From his picture postcard present the youth smiled into the camera and his future jauntily.

Today, on a peeling green wall of a tiny room in the second floor dwelling in Sonwar mohalla, Srinagar, the photograph reposes in an old wooden frame. And his mother stares at it. Fayaz Ahmed Butt, her youngest son who worked in the education department, had gone to pick up a newspaper during curfew relaxation and didn't return home. But at last she saw his body.

Earlier this year in an army firing in Sonwar bazar, two lanes away, in the same mohalla, a bullet ripped through the face of Mushtaq Malik, a 21-year old first year B.Com. student who also attended stenography classes. Mustaq's death was confirmed by his

family when they identified his wrist-watch, after he had been buried.

Beyond heroes who hit the headlines, it is these growing incidental deaths that keep the *azadi* fires smouldering.

Mushtaq Malik's sister, Samina Jan, is a rivetingly beautiful ten-year old, who sits cross-legged and wide-eyed, her white veiled face cupped in her palms, drinking in the talk around her.

It is the month of Ramzan, the most auspicious month in the Islamic calender, the month when the Koranic revelations began, the month when every good deed is rewarded from 10 to 700 times. And the retelling of her brother's death acquires a ritual quality as a community gropes for new ways to cope with grief, to comprehend their transformed reality. As her people weave a fresh mythology of martyrdom, she is a participant in the process.

What will her dreams be?

Who is a terrorist in Kashmir today? And a newspaper which showed a black and white photograph of school boy was thrust at you.

The picture is of Nazeer Ahmed Sofi, a 14-year old student who lived in Soura and had gone, as usual, to the home of a neighbouring teacher. Bullet holes dot the walls and floor of the slush-surrounded house, bits of rags and paper keep the cold from creeping in through the windows. But fear still stains the air and the voices of Bhushan Lal, the teacher and his family.

On March 31, as he was teaching the boy they heard sounds of shots and a growing commotion. Everyone in the house scattered for safety - some to the store room, others to the attic. Nazeer ducked under the bed. When the CRPF broke down the door, Nazeer, hidden in the first room on the ground floor, was hauled out and shot.

Already alienation, mounting rapidly since Mr. Jagmohan's takeover in January, was running high, drawing in its fold the till then exempt upper middle class. By the beginning of this month, affluence and influence were no longer safeguards against suspicion and arbitrary para-military action. They no longer divided rich from poor. The divide change. It was Kashmiri and non-Kashmiri. In Kashmir to be a Kashmiri Muslim was suspect. "Hindu or Muslim?" is the routine question at the numerous BSF and CRP barriers driving into the city.

At home in Srinagar, Asif Ahmed, a prominent

businessman, on the way to the airport with his wife, son and two daughters was stopped by the para-military forces and his valid curfew pass and family's airline tickets were ignored. He and his son were asked to go, leaving the women behind. A local DSP who happened to pass by, fortunately recognised them and allowed the family to leave.

Today, truth flips faces somewhere in the middle of the Jawahar Tunnel, the two and a half kms long, leaking lifeline that connects - or divides, depending on how you view it - the Valley from the rest of the country. Two separate realities exist on either side of the tunnel, two entirely different sets of perceptions. And two terrible stereotypes congeal to face each other.

To the rest of India - exposed to an unrelieved diet of militant kidnapping, killings, bomb blasts and Pakistan forays, together with the BJP abetted Pandit problem - the face of the Kashmiri is now dissolving into a blurred, featureless mask. He has become a secessionist-cum-terrorist-cum-fundamentalist traitor. An image exemplified in the April 30 *"India Today"* covers and its story. In Kashmir, on the other hand, the face of India crystallising into focus is that of a weapon-wielding oppressor a *darinda*, a beast, not human. Both sides need to obliterate contradictions and erect an Enemy. For how else can wars be waged?

This level of reality - of rigid and false polarisation rests on and is fed by a base where all facts have fled and absolute confusion prevails; in fact neither level can exist without each other.

Each day in Srinagar, a hundred rumours bloom, circulate, fade and are reborn. So one moment, Captain Rashid, a leading Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front figure is killed, the next moment he's resurrected and someone takes his place. Yaseen Malik, Chief Commander of the Front is caught; then he's dead; then he got caught but escaped; then he got caught and was injured but didn't escape. And finally he didn't get caught. But injured. Not too badly however.

This atmosphere makes for perfect conspiracy creating conditions. It's a secretary with the Jammu and Kashmir government who believe that the J&K Highway was deliberately not cleared for two weeks from end March in order to starve the Valley of essential supplies.

Television, then is seen as an utterly one-sided government mouth-piece and to even the brief visitor to the Valley the yawning discrepancy between Doordarshan's [ITV] view from new Delhi and the ground level reality in Kashmir is evident. The Governor's New Delhi utterances that there are no shortages may convince the rest

of the country. It's little more difficult to do so in a lower middle class home where the children have had no milk for eight days, where the son has been foraging the slopes of the Shankaracharya hill for edible shrubs because there are no vegetables and the family has subsisted on rice and *dal* for the last ten days.

Indefinite, uninterrupted curfew is an insidious process and can have two effects – it can break people's backs. Or it can put their backs up. It can also transform the back being pushed to the wall, as the sense of beleaguering is driven deeper and deeper, to recesses increasingly out of reach. The MLA the people vote for the God they pray to, touch them at very different levels.

Only the day before corruption deprived the Kashmiri youth of a medical seat, an engineering seat, a job; he was denied his right to education, he was denied his right to employment. Yesterday, large-scale rigging deprived him of his rightful vote. Today, he sees his '*Kashmiriat*' – his political, social and cultural identity – under siege. Tomorrow, the faith will be in peril. Today's *Tahreek*, (movement) is tomorrow's *Jehad*. And then, beyond blaming our neighbour, the administration and the army's active part in this process will have to be acknowledged.

An old man, eyes blazing behind thick cataract lenses, arms flailing, shrieks of sacrilege and demands to know who has the right to stand between a Muslim and his God. An elderly woman of the mohalla had died and her *janaza* was prevented, this after the necessary permission had been obtained from the administration. Further into the locality, past crowds so dense and distraught that mobility is practically impossible, a group of women is nearly hysterical. They were lined up and, at gun point, made to say *Jai Mata* over and over again. In the mosque next door, the search parties had trooped in, boots on, pulled down the loudspeaker, battered it out of shape; in some homes, shards of glass, in another the study which housed a collection of scared scriptures is a holy mess of scattered papers.

A fine white film of flour still coats many homes where rice was mixed with sugar, masala and coal – all upturned on the same floor. With curfew on there's no question of replenishing supplies. In any case, till mid-April curfew has prevented people from collecting their March rations.

Scorched earth searches like these leave a long and damaging trail. And this based on the little I saw in some 20-odd houses in less than three hours.

A toothless woman, old and wrinkled, weeps because she

was robbed of all her money, Rs. 87 and she was made to kill and hand over the last two chickens in her home. Another woman rushes in to produce a pale blue ring box, worn with age and now empty. She last saw her ring being slipped into a soldier's matchbox. For a mentally-retarded woman who lives along with her daughter, the nightmare has not switched off. She babbles on and on, her eyes dilated in fear, as a neighbour tries to soothe her. A new mother, her five-day-old tiny baby in the arms of her mother, lies groaning and weeping. She'd had a cesarian delivery and was made to walk down two flights of stairs, rounded up with other women in the courtyard below, even as her husband who lives in another locality and who was visiting his wife and newborn child, was taken away by the army. Who knows why, or where, or when he will return.

And what about the men. Many were picked up, as the now Jammu-based national press duly reported, a number of terrorists included. But minus names and identification who is sure? The men who remained has a similar tale to tell, one I'd heard at the mini-Secretariat in the city earlier in the day, where there was an uproar among the staff who were outraged that their J&K government employee identity cards had been flung aside as they were subjected to the same treatment as their neighbours were.

All men with beards were dubbed terrorists and those without were told that they'd just crossed over from Pakistan and had shaved in order to disguise themselves. A number of residents had their beards forcibly shorn with scissors. So, it was any which way you were sunk if you were a Kashmiri Muslim.

The residents of Batmaloo were searched thrice that day, by para-military forces. The first and third time there were orderly searches. The army search was the second one, the savage one. Let them conduct searches, the people say. But what was this?

And it's easier to focus on scattered debris - a broken plastic flower, fragments of a home in the city of legendary gardens; a smashed transistor, the very last and only link to a world beyond shut doors and closed windows - than to meet anyone's eye, alone answer the question. For there is little to say aloud.

I'm not so sure if these men were trained to shoot three-year-olds who don't know that curfew relaxation is over.

And perhaps those who play war games with words on their PC screens, thundering "no soft options" from new Delhi, so far from the Valley - where the smell of fear clings to your clothes - should take in the view from the front.

The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay.
April 29 1990.

INSIDE KASHMIR by Amith Prakash

On a wet and chilly April morning in Tankipura, a down-town area of Srinagar, the sight of a group of young men pushing two handcarts laden with not-so-fresh looking vegetables was the only sign of human activity other than the alert, gun toting jawans patrolling the near empty streets, their index fingers permanently fixed on the trigger. The previous day, just like the day before and the one before that, had witnessed a day-long curfew - a common phenomenon since January last year- but this was one of three rare days in Srinagar and most of the Kashmir Valley when curfew had been relaxed for the day.

"Saab, these boys are not regular vegetable vendors," said the taxi driver with a wry grin, "I know three of them personally and they are B. Sc, first divisioners. They are not selling those vegetables for a living, but are members of the local relief committee. They are returning from the wholesaler and will sell them in their mohalla at cost price. You see, even though the curfew has been relaxed for the day, nothing is certain. One minor incident of stone throwing and curfew will be clamped again, and nobody wants to get stranded." Just then he pulls the cab over to the side of the road to make way for a passing army convoy, and once it has passed his face turns purple with rage; "Haramzade!" (bastards) he mutters under his breath and spits out of the window before moving on.

Curfew has become a way of life in the Valley, and even when it is relaxed there is hardly any semblance of normalcy. The air is thick with uncertainty and the fear of a possible shoot-out. Most local economic activity has virtually come to a grinding halt resulting in severe financial strain on a predominantly poor populace. Among the worst hit are the small shopkeepers, daily wage-earners, auto-rickshaw and taxi drivers not just those who are dependent on tourism, but even the ones who cater to the needs of the local population.

Yet there are not many among them who come out to complain about the scarcity and its consequent hardship. Instead, the only complaint is that the curfew is being used as a weapon of intimidation through forced economic deprivation aimed at breaking the back of the ongoing "freedom struggle". "Your Indian government thinks it can dampen our spirits by starving us," says Azeem Qureshi, a petty shopkeeper, from behind a partially open shutter, "but you are wrong. We are willing to starve and get shot, for it will be a dignified death which is better than suffering the humiliation of

being slaves of India. Every pang of hunger can only make us braver, the rest is in Allah's hands".

Ghulam Rasool, a school teacher puts it differently; "The prolonged spell of curfew has reduced Kashmir to a prison, for we are all in a way under house arrest. We are the prisoners of the Indian para-military forces."

Walking through the streets of Srinagar during curfew hours is like visiting city of the dead. Seemingly lifeless mongrels that lie asleep along the bare streets lift their heads slowly to take a look, the curious expressions on their faces seem to ask, "Excuse me, but should you be here?" The eerie silence is broken by the menacing whirl of a distant helicopter, and as you lift your head to try and locate it, a rifle cocks behind you and then a shout, "*Khabardar, kaun hai!*" sends a chill down your spine, and an extra spurt of adrenaline. A group of CRP jawans demand curfew passes and identity cards. On being satisfied one of them asks, "*Jaan pyari nahin kya?* By chance shoot-out *ho gaya to hero se zero ban jao ge.*" (Don't you value your life? You will be reduced from hero to zero in case of a shoot-out). The curfew pass and the press ID card are a reporter's most valuable possessions in Kashmir; without them mobility would be actually hampered.

On March 1, 1990 the security forces opened fire at two places, at Zakura in Hazratbal, and at the Badgam bypass in which as many as 30 innocent people were killed. The first was a panic reaction by army men as they opened fire on a large mob which tried to hoist their flags atop their armoured personnel carrier. In the other incident a CRPF contingent went berserk when one of their colleagues fell prey to the militants' bullets. By the time they could pull themselves together the militants had escaped, but scores of innocents were caught in the return of fire as the infuriated security men shot anything that moved. Among the dead was a family of three, a man, woman and their nine-year-old daughter. That evening the AIR and Doordarshan [TV] announced that "one jawan and ten militants had been killed", further fuelling a smouldering fire and hardening the feelings against the Indian State.

"That is no way to treat innocent civilians," says Rashid Ahmed (not his real name), a deputy director in the state government. On top of that your media calls them militants! It is shame in India. How on earth does a nine-year old girl become terrorists?" His deep-set eyes search your soul for an answer, his hands tremble as he gesticulates and his lips twitch with suppressed rage as he pauses between sentences. "If you hate us so much then why not give us independence and stop killing our innocent brothers and sisters? Allow us to live with peace and dignity. Are we asking

for too much?"



*The Mld - Day, Bombay.
May 2, 1990.*

VALLEY UNDER CURFEW by Mani Shankar Aiyar

".....It is upon this valley and this people that the Governor and his administration have launched a war of attrition. For there is nothing sophisticated or selective about their hand to flush out the terrorists. Everyone in the valley - man, woman or child, of every faith and every political persuasion - is indiscriminately the target of continuous curfew, of Draconian dragnet and swinging security operations. The administration seems animated by the quite mistaken belief that if they smother, smash and starve the Valley into submission, the people will yield up the terrorists in their midst and exhausted by the severity of the security onslaught, return like lambs to the strait and narrow.....

There is little or no food in Srinagar. Infants are going without milk. Life-saving drugs are virtually unavailable. Since December 15 that is for much of the last 4 months curfew has been almost continuous, lifted only for a few brief hours earlier on cold, wintry mornings and imposed before the commencement of normal working day. Inevitably, the economy has collapsed. With no one able to go out to work, manufacturing activity is at a standstill, whether it be of the exquisite crafts for which the Valley is justly renowned or in the larger factories. Shops open, only to be quickly shuttered again. The banking system has folded up. The post office neither despatches nor delivers letters. Telephones are on the blink. Neither cargo nor passengers can be booked. The export trade has dried up. And no tourists - the holiday-makers on whom the livelihood of lakhs of Kashmiris depends - are anywhere in sight.

The Governor does not answer, but his administration's action speak for themselves; yes without Kashmiris. And, yes, without too many Muslims. For, of the six new Directors General of Police appointed, none are Muslims: of the 19 new Inspectors General of Police appointed, only 2 are Muslims; none of the Deputy Commissioners in the Valley is a Kashmiri; nor are any of the heads of department in the Secretariat.



India Week, Delhi.

May 4, 1990.

NEWS BLOCKADE IN KASHMIR

by Asha Khosa

In what can be reckoned as the worst hour of crisis in its recent history, Kashmir Valley is facing an unprecedented "information blockade". The administration, through its government controlled media, manages a "desirable" coverage of the Kashmir situation.

The results are apparent. The Kashmir militants are having a field day. Word of mouth is the most authentic source of information for an average Kashmiri today and the pro-Pakistani secessionists, despite a ban on eight such organisations, are keeping alive their propaganda through this and the cyclostyled literature pasted on city's walls each night during curfew hours.

The local Doordarshan and Radio station have closed down their respective establishment in Srinagar and have moved 300 km away to Jammu in March after the gruesome murder of the Srinagar Doordarshan director Lassa Koul by militants in February. Srinagar Doordarshan is now relaying shoddy, worn out programmes through amateur announcers from the ITDC hotel in Jammu. Srinagar radio is finding it difficult even to get Urdu news readers, for all the professionals have quit their jobs following threats from the militants. The entire valley had been going without national newspapers for the past three months. Last week the administration sealed four local presses belonging to influential Urdu dailies and registered cases against 11 establishments with the decision to start an Urdu daily of its own. The action against the press coincided with the ban on eight secessionist organisations including the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front.

"Imagine how humiliating it was to be clubbed with the secessionists", said a journalist representing a foreign news agency. The next day all the 30 newspapers took the decision to suspend their publications indefinitely. In protest a number of journalists procured anticipatory bails from court as a precautionary measure. Their fears materialised when two local photo-journalists were arrested on April 29, from Srinagar. Within days the valley was completely marooned from the mainland.

The local journalists belonging to about 30 dailies and a number of periodicals maintain that their reporting was totally professional. They allege that the gagging of the press had come at the time when the local press highlighted the police atrocities during combing operations. Says Ghulam Nabi Khayal, a veteran journalist

and a Sahitya Akademi award winner who represents a number of papers and foreign agencies: "When the national press chose to report on Kashmir on the basis of handouts issued from the Faj Bhavan in Jammu, the local journalists reported the atrocities being committed on Kashmiris and within days came the curbs on the press. You can't call this a coincidence."

"Holding the press solely responsible for the flare up in terrorism in Kashmir is certainly escapism," says a young journalist who has been rendered jobless following the closure of his newspaper. "The local press too words under threat from the militants," a local editor added.

Today the government media works from Jammu from its camp office manned by nearly 100 employees and no handouts are issued in Srinagar. The local journalists are totally ignored, obvious from the front that the Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed brought a chartered planeload of journalists from Delhi when he addressed a press conference in Srinagar giving the impression that all was well. "The same conference could have been held in Delhi. Why spend all this money simply to get a dateline," a journalist said.

As a result, the people of Kashmir today depend on the Voice of America, BBC and transmissions from Pakistan Occupied Kashmir to get "authentic information" about what is happening in the state. In front some allege that the government is jamming the frequencies of the transmission from POK and Pakistan TV. Said one journalist, "The government seems to be making the same mistake it made in Punjab by blocking information. By this they will be doing more harm than good. The curbs seem to have further added to the alienation of the Kashmiris from the Indian mainstream."



Economic and Political Weekly, Bombay
May 5, 1990.

KASHMIR: A DEEP-ROOTED ALIENATION by Dr. N. Y. Dole

A DIALOGUE team on behalf of Rashtra Seva Dal (RSD) was sent to Jammu and Kashmir during the first half of April 1990.

The RSD team was led by Bhai Vaidya. Other members of the team were NY Dole, Mrs. Veeṇa Surana, Jagan Phadnis, Nura Shaikh and Mrs. Aruna Tiwari.

The objective of the visit to Jammu and Kashmir was to establish contact and have a dialogue with the Kashmiri people. When we reached Srinagar the town was completely under the

control of para-military forces. Our vehicle was stopped and checked several times at gun point. We had the bitter taste of 'Police Raj' even before entering the town. Curfew continued for 11 days without any relaxation.

Local women met women colleagues of the team to express their suppressed anger and frustration. In all we met about one thousand persons including officers of Jammu and Kashmir police force and jawans of the para-military forces.

On the basis of the visit and talks we have the following observations to make:

There is no civil government or rule of law at present in Kashmir and the collapse of administration is total. The whole valley has been handed over to the para-military forces. Jammu and Kashmir police are looked upon with mistrust. In fact every Kashmiri Muslim is *prima facie* considered a pro-Pakistani traitor. The alienation of the people is total and the masses have lost all faith in political leaders. Both the major political parties, the National Conference and the Congress, have become irrelevant in the valley. The state government, i.e. the governor and the central government, it seems are working at cross purposes. The central government is either not giving clear cut guidelines to the governor or the governor is ignoring the directives of the central government. The central government's public declarations are also confusing. The roles of the Home Minister and the minister for Kashmir Affairs seem to be overlapping if not contradictory. The BJP is adding to the confusion in the state. The governor and the senior officers are naturally taking full advantage of this situation. No government department functions properly. Banks are closed, telephones do not work and power supply is erratic. Strict curfew has added to the non-functioning of essential services.

The present situation is the cumulative effect of the injustices perpetrated on Kashmir during the last 40 years. Things could not have reached such a stage in merely three months of Janta Dal rule at the centre.

Increase in educational facilities and expansion of vision created an explosion of expectations among the youth. Ever rising unemployment created frustration adding fuel to the feeling of neglect by the central government. No worthwhile development took place in Kashmir. For reasons best known to them, the central and state governments always appointed outsiders to higher posts in state administration. In other jobs the local pandits have a monopoly. This created bitterness among the Muslim youth. Article 370 in the Indian Constitution gave special status to Jammu and

Kashmir. Gradually there was an erosion in this article and even its diluted form is not tolerated by the BJP. There is widespread propaganda to abolish the special status of Jammu and Kashmir. This has created apprehensions in the minds of well intentioned people. Even though the prime minister has publicly assured that the article will continue, Kashmiri people fear that the Janta Dal may succumb to pressure from the BJP.

Governor Jagmohan has toady become a symbol of ruthless suppression of legitimate aspirations of the people in the valley. His continuation in the office is responsible for the discord between Hindus and Muslims. The Hindu population by and large respect Jagmohan but Muslims throughout the state dislike him. The image of the governor is that of the suppressor. Either he should try to change his image or the government of India should transfer him. As his own life is in danger he cannot move about as freely in the valley as he could during his first tenure.

When para-military forces are given full freedom there are bound to be excesses and atrocities. During encounters, arrests, checks and searches innocent men and women suffer. Those who suffer injustice at the hands of para-military forces have no means of obtaining justice. This creates bitterness, frustration and anti-India feelings.

The need of the hour is restraint and caution on the part of all those who are concerned with the problem. Communal feelings should not be whipped up in India especially in Jammu and Ladakh. Unfortunately, communal parties and organisations are exploiting the present problem to generate an anti-Muslim atmosphere in while of India, thus creating additional insecurity in the minds of Kashmiris, thereby giving secessionist forces an instrument of propaganda. The BJP supporters are creating an atmosphere which is not favourable to the government. Officially BJP states that it will not insist on abrogation of Article 370. Perhaps they have not read the Article 371 otherwise they will demand abrogation of that article also.

The centre has to face the problem created by previous Congress governments and tackle it with compassion and sympathy for human life.



Times of India, Delhi.
May 6, 1990.

लगभग सत्य है

"Ashfaq Majid Wani was one of those for whom the term 'all-rounder' might have been coined: he was a bright student and an outstanding sportsman in Dunagar's leading boys' school. By class nine he was taking on and humbling university-level table tennis players, his collection of cups, medals and awards grew steadily each year. And, impressed by the boy's discipline and potential, Mikha Singh, the 'Flying Sikh': once visited his home to ask his father if Ashfaq could train with him.

"Travelling was one of Ashfaq's loves and with his father, a drilling engineer, he had visited a number of cities in the country. This time in Delhi, however, something had gone wrong.

Ashfaq returned troubled, with the fleeting feeling that the selections had been unfair. Once, speaking aloud he wondered if the discrimination he experienced was linked to where he came from, or his religion, or both. The incident was an echo of what had happened 23 years ago, when his father was one of 17 Muslims who applied for jobs with the National Coal Development Corporation (NCDC). None of their applications were acknowledged, none of them made it to the interview. But Ashfaq said no more.

"Cross country runs with friends were also part of his daily ritual, but after his return from Delhi he preferred to run alone, each day covering greater distances. He thus frequented the Takht-i-Suleman, where the Prophet is believed to have appeared, at the top of the Shankaracharya hill.

"And he studied for his crucial, premedical ones. Ashfaq wanted to be a doctor. But, his father was neither a politician nor able to offer *nazrana*, gift, the genteel phrase for hard cash, the prime qualifying factor for admission to professional courses in Kashmir. Despite his 77 per cent, Ashfaq failed to get admission to the Government Medical College, even as others with lower marks did.

"This was the time when the 1987 Assembly elections were round the corner. Ashfaq campaigned actively for the MUF candidate in his constituency.

"Way back in '87, Meham was yet to be a landmark on the election map of the country. The MUF, expected to win between 35—40 seats, ended up with a mere four. And the announcement of the election results was accompanied by the arrests of hundreds of MUF workers and election agents, witnesses to the unprecedented rigging and manipulation at the counting halls. Ashfaq was one of them.

"He was arrested on March 23, 1987. The FIR against him charged him for crimes committed on April 4, while he was still in police custody. For 56 hours, he was kept in solitary confinement: nine long months later he was released. The confinement was to leave a mark on him, as did the cigarette burns he acquired as part of the interrogation.

"By now Ashfaq was a prominent member of the militant Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF). Ashfaq became one of the four area commanders of the JKLF who made up the HAJI group, comprising Hamid Sheikh, Javed Mir (or Javed Nalka, as he is popularly known because he worked in the water works department) and Yasin Malik.

"Only the young, or naive, whose idealism has not knocked against experience, can occupy the high moral ground inflexibly and convincingly. So, for instance, when Ashfaq's father got embroiled in a nasty neighbourhood fracas, he briefly luxuriated in the 'my son's bigger than yours' and 'he'll fix you' feeling. It didn't last long. Ashfaq landed up at the neighbour's home instead and spent hours persuading them to sort out the problem.

"It was also Kashmir because an area commander like Ashfaq by now a proclaimed offender with a price of Rs. 25,000 on his head contrived to discharge his emotional obligations to his people in the same sentimental language the community spoke and valued. When the *paamwala* in his *mohalla* was killed in a para-military firing, Ashfaq slipped in while the *janaza* was on and slipped out after five minutes: when his old friend was leaving town, he came to say goodbye.

"Over the last few months, residents of Saraibala in Srinagar say that each time news of crossfire swept through the locality, a distraught woman would rush out, asking 'Who has been killed? Is it my son?'

"Ashfaq came to see his mother when he heard of this, to say, when I die I will die as a *shaheed*, a martyr, the most exalted death for a Muslim. On March 30, this year he was killed in a crossfiring with the para-military forces.

"I disagreed with my son and turned him out of the house' his father says. 'But he acquired a much larger family. The boy who leapt to shield him that day was no relative nor was he an old friend. But he took 36 bullets in trying to save Ashfaq'.

"Between three to five lakh people are estimated to have attended Ashfaq's *fateha*, an unprecedented gathering in the history of Kashmir.

"And, if Kashmiris wept the day he died, it was because they knew him."



Washington Post, U.S.A.
May 7, 1990.

INDIAN CRACKDOWN IN KASHMIR

by Steve Coll

Rifle shots popped like firecrackers in the thin mountain air of this once-idyllic capital of Kashmir. A panicked horde of civilians rushed down a dirt alley from the main road, the men slapping mules into motion, the women gathering children under their arms as they ran.

Metal storefront shutters clanged shut. As if on cue, veiled women leaned from apartments above and pulled their windows closed." Cross firing" several of those fleeing called out.

Muslim militants who favour separation from India had ambushed an Indian army patrol around the corner, prompting the soldiers to return fire at a crowd of civilians. Two young men were wounded in the legs, hospital doctors said later. There were unconfirmed reports that soldier died.

Bloody skirmishes between militant separatists and Indian soldiers now occur several times a day in Srinagar, a former tourist have gripped these days by anger, fear and violence after five months of armed rebellion, prolonged curfews and a brutal crackdown by Indian security forces.

The Indian government contends that the situation is coming under control, but the popular separatist uprising here that has led India and Pakistan to threaten a fourth war for control of Kashmir appears more intractable than ever. Interviews with scores of Kashmiris over several days- from slum dwellers to doctors and bankers-suggested that the crackdown has polarized the population, driving many previously neutral civilians to the side of the militants.

Hindu-majority India claims full sovereignty over the region, while Islamic Pakistan urges that Kashmiris be allowed to choose their own destiny in a plebiscite. Meanwhile, Kashmiri militants have taken matters into their own hands, regularly attacking India soldiers and assassinating government officials.

Well-armed urban guerrillas here, some of whom have apparently obtained weapons originally supplied by the United States to Afghan rebels based in Pakistan, continue to operate with virtual impunity despite the presence of about 15,000 Indian soldiers

and a paramilitary troops in the Kashmir Valley. And the region's people, most of whom are Muslims, appears to be broadly sympathetic to the militants, despite severe deprivations caused by round-the-clock curfew, house-to-house searches, arbitrary detentions and beatings meted out by security forces.

The valley's several million residents have been confined to their homes for long, uninterrupted stretches-12 continuous days and nights at one point during April-while soldiers pour through slum buildings and house-boats nestled along the city's lakes and canals. The searches appear to have raised the population's temper to the boiling point.

"When they have taken the gun against the people, why not take up a gun-if we have to die tomorrow, why not today?" asked Mohammed Yusuf a 70-year-old retired school teacher.

Yusuf wept as he told how two days earlier, his son, an engineer visiting from his home in the Middle East, had been beaten by security forces after refusing to wash off anti-Indian slogans painted on a tree on the street in front of his house.

"They fell on him. They began to beat him with rifles. They hit on his head, and I fell on him and they hit me. They took him away. His whole body is injured....What has happened to us? I am an old man.-I can't fight them."

In a slum quarter across town, Bashir Ahmed, a tailor, displayed deep scars on his arms, shoulders and feet, which he said were the result of beatings administered by Indian soldiers after he was detained during a house-to-house search in April. Ahmed said he was beaten with sticks and rifle butts until he passed out.

"I thought, this is the end of my life. I asked, 'just shoot me. But they only beat me"

Indian government officials describe the reports of abuses by security forces- including alleged rapes and widespread thefts-as exaggerations concocted by propagandists for the separatist militants. Kashmiris opposed to the government agree that the valley is ripe with rumours about atrocities allegedly committed by soldiers, and that many of the rumours are unfounded.

But physical evidence of abuses by security forces-in the form of scars bruises, smashed windows and charred buildings-is widely visible in Srinagar.

Indian Forces have virtually occupied the city, which normally overflows in May with foreign and Indian tourists attracted by the colours of the springtime bloom and the spectacular views of

peaks in the Himalayan range. Sandbag bunkers with machine gun barrels protruding have been erected by the army in front of hotels and handicraft shops. The houseboats, hiking trails and lake side walks are empty.

Jammu and Kashmir governor Jagmohan, who has overseen the recent Indian crackdown, during which more than 300 people have died, said the recent curfews and searches were forced upon him by the Muslim militants. He denied that there had been excesses by Indian soldiers.

But Jagmohan, who uses only one name, said he had no plans to ease the crackdown. "Now I am saving the [Indian] union," he said. "How many people did Abraham Lincoln kill? If I have to use force, there is a moral legitimacy to it."

Jagmohan said his approach had produced "a massive gain" for the Indian government. But the valley's economy, which depends heavily on tourism, has been virtually shut down, and many Kashmiris said they felt they no longer had anything left to lose by fighting the Indians.

A network of police informers, known as mukhbirs and developed by the Indian government here, coupled with the growing strength of the armed militants, has forced ordinary Kashmiris to take sides as they never have before. "Now there are only two choices," said a Srinagar businessmen. "You become a mukhbir or a mujahed," or Muslim holy warrior.

Doctors at a downtown Srinagar hospital said that because of a recent epidemic of meningitis in the city, a number of people had died, unable to reach medical help during the curfews. The doctors complained of acute shortages of medicines, including drugs for treating cancer.

"I'm sure Pakistan should give their highest awards to Jagmohan for pushing people to become Pakistanis," said one doctor. "There are many [Kashmiri] nationalists who have become pro-Pakistani. A doctor is a suspect, a bureaucrat is a suspect, an engineer, a businessmen, If we are all suspects [to the Indians], who is with them?"

"It is a matter of circumstances-if we are being terrorized, we must take up arms. It is permitted by the Koran," said Mullah Mohammed Hussain, 71, who said he had been detained and beaten by Indian security forces and told that he should stop preaching in his local mosque. "We are not going to be with India. They must either leave us, or, If they don't, we will go for the holy war."

Five months ago, many Kashmiris interviewed here said they were adamantly opposed to any war between India and Pakistan for control of the region because they wished to achieve independence of their own. Now the public mood appears to have shifted.

While few of those interviewed openly longed for war, a number said that because the international community has expressed little support for Kashmiri aspirations for independence, they now believe that only a military victory by Pakistan could free the valley from Indian control.

Kashmiris have struggled to define an identity for themselves separate from India for more than 40 years, but in the Indo-Pakistan wars of 1948, 1965 and 1971, valley residents watched quietly while the rival armies clashed along the border. This time Kashmiri militants and civilians would make life difficult for the Indian forces by stepping up guerrilla attacks and sabotaging roads and communications.

"We want the problem to be solved through peaceful means," said a Srinagar teacher. But if that is not possible, we welcome war."



*Los Angeles Times, -vide Nawa-i-Waqat, Lahore.
May 11, 1990.*

CRITICAL TEST FOR INDIA

by Mark Fineman

In the shadow of the snow-peaked Himalayas, just beside the tourist houseboats that ring Kashmir's legendary Nagin Lake, Prof. Mohammed Yusuf watched in disbelief last week as Indian soldiers beat his only son to a pulp.

"At least 200 of them fell on him and started beating on him with their fists and sticks," the 70-year-old retired school principal said, his voice cracking through reluctant tears.

"I thought he was dead. But I threw myself on him to save his head. I took two strokes on my back before they pulled me off. And then they just kept beating him, and beating him, and beating him until he passed out."

And all because of four letters hand painted on an old chinar tree just outside Yusuf's family house—that, and his son's defiance when the soldiers ordered him to lick each letter off with his tongue.

In the two months since the state government expelled

foreign journalists from Jammu and Kashmir and India's security forces launched a bloody crackdown of the Kashmiris uprising for independence, hundreds have been killed, thousands have been searched and hundreds have been jailed.

Specific numbers are impossible to obtain. Few journalists have ventured into the embattled state since it was declared off-limits to the press.

But for three days last week, a *Los Angeles Times* reporter quietly toured Kashmir's war-torn capital of Srinagar by bicycle, interviewing dozens of Kashmiris, ranging from truck drivers to doctors, and witnessing the daily "cross-firings" between Kashmiri urban guerrillas and Indian troops that, between them, have left scores of civilian bystanders dead and spread panic throughout this once idyllic Himalayan city.

What the reporter found was a once-rich region that is suffering physically and all but dying economically. Tourism, once the source of 80 percent of all revenue, is non-existent. And everyone said they are living in fear-either of *Mukhbirs*, military informants, or of Mujahideen, freedom-fighters from any one of a half-down armed Kashmiri insurgent groups.

"We only have two choices now," one prominent Kashmiri businessman said, asking not to be named. 'Either you become *Mukhbir* or Mujahid. And, in either case, may be you die. Mujahideen now. Everyone wants independence.'

The uprising, in which Kashmir's overwhelmingly Muslim population is demanding secession from Hindu-dominated India, has assumed grave international importance in recent weeks. India has accused its neighbour, Pakistan, of training and arming Kashmiri insurgents across the state's international border, and Indian Prime Minister V.P.Singh has warned his nation to prepare for its fourth war with Pakistan in 30 years.

Even if the conflict stops short of war, something most analysts hopefully predict. Kashmir has become a critical test case for India's claim as the world's largest secular democracy.

Already, Indian human rights groups have harshly condemned the army's brutal crackdown, which being carried out largely by Hindu troops and presided over by the state's appointed Hindu governor Jagmohan.

Most independent analysts in New Delhi agree that much of the Kashmiris' anger and frustration is well-founded the result of decades of political manipulation and broken promises by national

politicians in New Delhi, who are bound by a 1947 accord that granted the Kashmiris full autonomy in all fields except defence, communications and foreign affairs. That guarantee formed the basis of Kashmir's original decision to join India rather than Pakistan during the partition of the subcontinent.

Even several senior army officers involved in the crackdown told this reporter privately that they blame the New Delhi government for failing to defuse the unrest politically before resorting to what one army general called "terribly bitter medicine."

"The Kashmir problem was created by the failure of the political process," said Indian political analyst Rajni Kothari, who serves on the government planning commission and signed a recent published appeal for peace between India and Pakistan.

"The movement in Kashmir is very powerful. It's a movement toward democracy and independence, and there is simply no wishing it away."

Despite the Indian military campaign to force Kashmiris to remove the pro-independence and anti-Indian graffiti from the walls, trees and lamp posts of Srinagar, the city remains covered with the written code of anger and secession.

Thousands of house-to-house searches have failed to unearth major arms caches or break the militant's inner-city underground network.

In daylight and just yards away from Indian sentries, a reporter was taken to the home of a top leader of the Jammu and Kashmir Hizbul Mujahideen, the less popular and only pro-Pakistan faction of the two major armed groups in the militant alliance. There, with an AK-47 assault rifle that was once part of a U.S. financed arms shipment to Afghan Mujahideen rebels at his side, the leader pledged to intensify the Kashmiri rebellion later this year by using more sophisticated weapons. These, he said, would include U.S. Stinger anti-aircraft that he claimed the Kashmiris are purchasing in Pakistan.

"Until then," he added boastfully, "we will continue using just grenades and small arms to carry out daily attacks on Indian army bunkers and convoys, which he called "a catch 'em while they're sleeping" tactic.

And, despite the presence of thousands of Indian soldiers and para-military forces in a city that has suffered longer under curfew than any other Indian city in recent memory, scores of Kashmiris openly greeted a passing reporter with phrases insulting

Indians and "all we want is freedom."

From everyone interviewed at length came a personal tale of torture or deprivation.

Maulvi Mohammed Hussain Turibi the *imam* (preacher) at the Batamaloo Sahib Mosque in Srinagar's old city related how he and his son were beaten, kicked and punched by soldiers intermittently for an entire day while being forced to walk through the neighbourhood, using their bare hands to cover wall slogans with cow manure.

"I had been preaching what the Prophet (peace be upon him) used to say," Turibi said when asked why he and his family were singled out. "I used to preach that we are slaves, that we should get liberated".

"But we are being terrorised now, and I feel that if I speak out again, I will again be taken and beaten."

At a hospital, several surgeons and physicians, all of whom asked not to be named, gathered in the chief surgeon's office and described the human toll of 15 consecutive days of round-the-clock curfew, followed by an intermittent curfew last week.

Diabetics and heart patients have died for lack of medicine, they said. Pregnant women delivered still-born babies because they couldn't reach the hospital. Children have died of acute gastroenteritis. And a continuing meningitis epidemic has claimed the lives of many others.

Conceding their support for the armed liberation movement, the doctors said they are being followed by "Indian agents," adding that their ambulance drivers have been beaten and hospital staff members have been arrested and tortured.

"Look what this government has done," one of the doctors said, "A bureaucrat is a suspect. An engineer is a suspect. A doctor is a suspect. A lawyer is a suspect. My God, a policeman is a suspect.

"If we are all suspects, then who is with them (the Indians)?"

Los Angeles Times, -vide- *Nawa-i-Waqat*, Lahore, May 11, 1990



The Times of India, New Delhi.
May 13, 1990.

WHY GAG MEDIA IN KASHMIR?

by Nikhil Chakravartti

An aspect of the Kashmir crisis is the serious alienation of the people of the valley from the rest of India. This is perhaps the most crucial aspect of the present problem in Kashmir.

It is possible for the armed forces at the disposal of the Indian government to overpower more than 5,000. But how do we win over the 40 lakh Kashmiris who inhabit the picturesque valley? This battle for the mind and heart of the people cannot be won by the might of the Indian armed forces and the paramilitary units now mobilized there on a massive scale. As the present phase of armed operation scores over the armed secessionists, the question of regaining the confidence and goodwill of the public in the valley has to claim top-priority consideration. One wonders how much preparation has been made in this direction by the government, preoccupied as it has been so far with the immediate job of silencing the secessionist's gun.

Inevitably, there has to be confusion and even misunderstanding on the area of demarcation between police action and pacification programme. There is also the danger of taking a mechanical view of the two objectives - that the people should first finish the job of putting down the secessionists, and only after that, begin the task of pacification. Such an approach may turn out to be disastrous because the police action may itself destroy to a large extent, whatever attachment or goodwill the people in the valley may have towards India beyond the Banihal.

In this context, one has to understand the role of the human rights activists reporting on the situation in the valley. Well meaning critics have raised the argument that when there is a virtual war situation between the ruthless secessionist militants on the one hand and the police and the armed forces on the other, the question of defending the republic has to be the prime consideration. While this point can hardly be dismissed when the nation as a whole is concerned with the open challenge to its territorial integrity, one has to understand the other side of the case too. The very fact that these human rights activists are from our own country underlines the strength of our open democratic system. These human rights reports can have a very salutary impact on the Kashmir mind.

In the task of bringing back the Kashmiri people into the mainstream of Indian democracy, the media's role has so far hardly been recognised. The responsibility for this lapse lies on both the

media practitioners themselves and the authorities handling Kashmiri affairs. In the cross fire between the militant secessionist and the security forces, one of the first casualties has been the press. While the secessionist is keen on silencing his critics at gunpoint, the government has clamped down a virtual censorship by various means. Initial efforts at ensuring arrangements for the journalists to function was abandoned and there is no gainsaying that the authorities have severely assaulted the right of pressmen to function in the valley.

The government seems to be totally oblivious to the important role that the media can play in normalizing the situation in Kashmir. With its supreme obsession about the efficacy of the gun in tackling the Kashmir crisis, the government has denied its own media the opportunity of helping in the process of normalization in the state. It is a matter of shame that the television station in Srinagar has virtually been closed down on the plea that it had been infiltrated by the secessionists. If the police agencies could be overhauled - as the authorities claim they have been - why not the Srinagar radio and television station?

In the situation prevailing in Kashmir today, any intelligent administration should have asked for more reinforcement not only for manning the radio and television stations but also for a massive programme of mass communication through these media.

One is appalled by the total neglect on the part of the government on this score. There are hundreds of distinguished people - writers, artists, dramatists, persons of distinction in different walks of life all over India - who have at some time or the other worked in Kashmir. How many of them, if any at all, have been approached by radio and TV to address our fellow countrymen in the valley?

With thousand of Kashmiri Pandit families having left the valley, a new arena of concern and tension has emerged. The media can very effectively counter such a danger. A peculiar future of these refugees is that they have not come away with all their belonging. Most of them have left the keys to their homes with their Muslim Kashmiri neighbours to look after their property in their absence. Couldn't this be highlighted in the media?

The journalists of the print media have also not risen to the occasion. While one can understand the difficulties of the local press in Srinagar to run their papers in the cross-fire of the secessionists and the security forces - both sides pressuring them recklessly - the bigger Indian newspapers outside Kashmir have also avoided taking up the challenge. Their correspondents stationed in Srinagar have

come away. Normally in winter months they move down to Jammu alongwith the state secretariat (the so-called Durbar), but these are abnormal times and one would have expected them to stay in the valley because that is where the news has been.

Alternatively, the big Indian newspapers have to send correspondents regularly to the valley to present before the Indian public their perceptions of the crisis there. Such a step is bound to fetch excellent results as could be seen in the remarkable can did portrait of the anguish in the valley in Ayesha Kagal's recent report in the newspaper The Times of India. Surely, such despatches can help considerably towards not only a better understanding of the magnitude of the crisis but also finding a way out of it. The job of upholding the integrity of the nation is not that of the security forces alone. It is multi-dimensional, in which the media in all their branches can play a very significant role.



*Sunday, Calcutta..
May 13, 1990.*

BRUTE FORCE by Shiraz Siddhva

It is weird game that is being played out in Kashmir. At the end of each violent day, the administration gathers at Jagmohan's well-fortified Governor's House in Srinagar and, over cups of steaming Qahwa discuss how well the security forces have succeeded in countering terrorism. A head count is even taken of the "militants" eliminated. Everyone present agrees with Governor Jagmohan that the administration certainly has the "upper hand" in the battle for Kashmir.

But no one gets to the crux of the problem: the gradual alienation of the people from the Indian government. And if anything is responsible for this, it is security forces' high-handedness and brutality. Take for instance, the events following the murder of the vice-chancellor of the Kashmir University and the general manager of the HMT by militants on the morning of 10 April.

By noon on 11 April, the search operations in the valley had intensified. From six that morning to well past midnight, the residents of downtown Batmaloo paid the price for the action of the "freedom fighters" (terrorists, to the rest of the world). Sixteen days of curfew followed. And in New Delhi the power-wielders raved about the phenomenal success their crackdowns were yielding. The Indian press too hailed the state administration.

Whatever press reports might suggest, normalcy is a far cry. The valley is ominously calm during curfew and combing operations. But the residents of downtown Srinagar have a sad story to relate. Everyone, they say, who has chosen to stay on in Kashmir is branded a subversive, a terrorist or an anti-Indian; the 'innocents' have all fled the state. And they are not very wrong. "You say innocents are being killed?" exclaims member of the Kashmiri Hindu Migrants Forum in New Delhi angrily. "There is not one single innocent there-they are all anti-Indians." For the average Indian today, the kashmiri is an enemy.

"I have always loved India, swears Nuzhat, a university lecturer in her thirties who has resisted repeated warnings from her relatives in Delhi to leave the valley, "But last week, i wondered what this India really meant. They have forsaken us, written us off." With deep anguish she remembers the day the army burst into her garden, lined up the menfolk of the house outside and frisked the women. Her husband, who is a loyal Indian, cannot forgive himself for having been so helpless when it all happened. "They were shocked to see a biography of Nehru in the study. I told them they would find thousands of them in the valley. If this is my plight today, what about the poor people who have nobody to phone up and nobody to turn to for help?"

"No, there is nobody to turn to for help, we are all damned, we are all called pro-Pakistanis," says a head constable in the JK Armed Police wondering why he has spent so much of his life in service. "They had no respect for this uniform when they burst into my house and grabbed my only son at midnight. The jawan pushed me aside, spitting 'saala Pakisani', and shoved me to the wall with the butt of his gun. India has given up the people of Kashmir to ensure that they keep the territory!"

The Home Minister, Mufti Saeed, had confidently proclaimed that Eid celebrations in Kashmir would be "normal". "There is no Eid here," wails the mother of 19-year old Shakeel in Chhanpora.

"They dragged my son out of his room, and the fact that my husband was a government employee for decades didn't help to get us any mercy. We don't know where he is now, or if he is alive. All I know is that if they do any thing to him I will never forgive India."

As little children play hopscotch and queue up to buy orange-sticks in the drizzle, the resilience of a better community is very much in evidence. "We have nothing against the Indian people, it is the repression that we cannot bear," says Amina Begum while trying hard to retain her composure. Five days before Eid, her

husband went out during curfew hours to buy vegetables. The jawan shot him in the shoulder. "He lay there in the dirt, clutching at two small brinjals," she sobs.

The Hassan family in Chota Bazar were luckier. Their son, though beaten badly by the cops, survived. It all happened when the women of the house were washing the drawing room carpet during curfew. The jawans who were on duty in the locality mistook the red water that flowed out into the drain for blood. They broke into the house and insisted that both Mushir-ul-Haq and Abdul Ghani whose bodies were found that morning, were murdered in their houses. The CRPF officer on duty in the area admits that it was a mistake, but hastily adds: "You never know these people. They all have links with militants."

"In a people's movement everybody is bound to know the militants," explains a senior journalist. "After all, if approximately 5,000 boys from the valley have turned militants how is it possible that nobody knows them?" he asks indignantly. Zubeda Begum of Nowpora insists that her family has no connections with the boys who are fighting for our freedom. On the afternoon of April 19, her 65-year old husband Mohammed Ibrahim Magloo, owner of the Mughal Darbar restaurant, and his five sons were taken away by the cops. The old man and two sons including the youngest Javed, who is 16 and mentally retarded, were released after a week. It was only the neighbour who helped the family during the seven agonising days. But the trauma will continue until the other sons return home.

"The limits of harassment have been crossed," declares a government official in Anantnag. "They make people pick up the dirt from the drains and rub it over the Liberation Front sings and then they say that things are improving. Our little children are made to do murgha". It takes a while to discover what they are talking about. Explains a local journalist: "A heavy stone is placed on their backs and they are made to do sit-ups while the forces stand by and use the worst abuses possible."

The atmosphere outside the Jamia Masjid on the morning of Eid is tense. It is not the right time to talk police atrocities. But the mood is more defiant than festive. Within the ancient mosque, Maulvi Farooq makes an impassioned and inflammatory speech; the thousands who have gathered here to offer 'namaz' hang their heads in mourning as the head priest announces the names of the "martyrs" of the valley.

"Whom do we turn to for help?" shouts a young man in the crowd. His brother, Parvez Ahmed Khan lost his life fighting the security forces." They chased him into a stream and pushed him in

the water with their rifle-buttoes screaming, *Azadi, chahiye, Wahi milegi* (you want freedom? You'll get it in there)', " We recovered his body hours later," recalls Ghulam Ahmed sadly, his close friend. "There was nothing we could do to save him".

In Anantnag, the family members of Ghulam Mohammad Khandayare too shocked to speak. The small-time shopkeeper, in his mid-30s, had nothing to do with the militants yet he was picked up by the forces for interrogation. Khanday died in custody after 11 days. A CRPF official admits that Khanday had nothing to reveal.

The paramilitary forces and the army, however, cannot be blamed for the excesses. After all they are trained to fight wars not subversive. The Jammu and Kashmir Police, which could have been effectively used to weed out the guerrillas, has been sidelined and some of its personnel are actually helping out the militants in frustration. The state's intelligence network, whatever the Governor might claim, is no match for the militants' information-gathering system.

A month after the forces launched an all-out offensive, the militants are, for the first time this year, on the defensive. There is no doubt that at the moment the government does have the "upper hand". However, compared to the scale of the operation, the results are not as "encouraging" as is being made out to be by the Home Ministry and Governor.



The Sunday Mail Weekly, Delhi.
May 13-18, 1990.

by A. G. Noorani

"Articles 19 and 22—embodying the civil liberties such as freedom of speech, association, assembly, protection against arbitrary arrest, etc.—did not apply to Kashmir. Here again the Sheikh's own record was disgraceful. His treatment of the opposition was brutal.

"What was distinctive about the 1987 poll was that fraud was combined with repression. The poll was rigged as before: but, the opposition MUF's agents were beaten up and thrown out of polling stations and counting booths. A responsible correspondent reported last January, 'nearly all the young men on the wanted list today were guarding ballot boxes for the Muslim United Front (MUF) candidates in the last election.'

"Justice Rajagopalan Ayyangar's report on Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's corruption (1953—64) exposed only the tip of the iceberg. In reality, the Commission of Inquiry was set up to silence a

political opponent. The corruption was consciously condoned by the highest in the land because the Bakshi could 'handle' Kashmir with the Sheikh behind bars. Nor was corruption absent in the reigns of Sheikh Abdullah and son Farooq. The people suffered.

"The State's autonomy was systematically undermined. Article 370 limited the State's accession to defence, foreign affairs and communications and applied only specified parts of the Constitution to Kashmir. Other subjects and other constitutional provisions could be extended only with the 'concurrence' of the State Government. This 'concurrence' was given from 1954 onwards by State Governments installed through rigged polls. In 1986, Jagmohan, a centrally-appointed Governor, 'concurred' to the Centre's extension to the State of Article 249 which enables Parliament to legislate even on a matter in the State List on the strength of a Rajya Sabha resolution. This made a mockery of the State's autonomy and was done as Narendra Reddy of Indian Express remarked (August 17, 1986) 'secretly'. Even a pro-Jagmohan correspondent reported on April 21 that 'the psyche of the residents (of the Valley) has been bruised as a good number of citizens, including pregnant women and children, have died for want of medical care.

"There have been instances of the police firing on unarmed demonstrators. One correspondent wrote after a visit: 'How has Kashmir gone from sullen acquiescence to full blown insurgency in such a short time? Everyone we met was unanimous in saying that it happened on January 21, when the police opened fire with automatic weapons on a procession of demonstrators in a narrow street in the Gowkadal area of Srinagar. Estimates of the numbers killed range from 20-odd (government figures), to 50-plus (according to Kashmiri journalists), to 200 (say the militants). But the numbers are immaterial: in a Valley that has never known such indiscriminate killing, Gowkadal has become the Kashmir's Jallianwala Bagh.'

"But thinking Indians must reflect on our record on these fine counts in a part of our country whose people have known nothing but suffering. It is by now accepted by all that almost every election in Kashmir has been a farce, including the one organised by the Sheikh in 1951. In 1983 there were irregularities but Farooq Abdullah could yet win braving the Centre's wrath. Few know that till 1979 the fundamental rights guaranteed by Gandhi-Sheikh Abdullah Accord of February 12, 1975, envisaged a 'review of the laws made by Parliament or extended to the State after 1953.' It yet remains to be done.

"On employment, one has only to read the figures cited by the redoubtable M.P. Saifuddin Soz, which the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir has reproduced in its Report. It endorsed his criticism. As he sums up, the State Muslims do not have more than 13 per cent share in

Central Government departments including ministerial jobs in the Class IV category. Their share in the gazetted services is less than six per cent. They also have grouse against the nationalised banking sector where their share is abysmally low—1.5 per cent.

"Soz says that 'unemployment has been the most important factor responsible for the alienation of the Kashmiris'."



Time, New York.
May 14, 1990.

SING A SONG OF FREEDOM

by Edward W Desmond

For the Indian soldiers and policemen in the streets, Srinagar is enemy territory. To every major crossing, they huddle around sandbag bunkers, taking shelter against the rage around them. They never know when a young man might dash up, whip back his cloak and blast away with an AK-47 rifle, to disappear seconds later in a warren of back alleys. He may kill or wound a soldier or two, and his shots will no doubt trigger a ricocheting overreaction. The locals call it "cross-firing": angry soldiers giving chase, shooting at anything that moves, spilling their fury and playing into the hands of the militants' efforts to spark atrocities, which in turn generate recruits for the cause.

Given the frequency of such confrontations, it is no surprise that the troops look nervous and twitch at their posts around a picturesque city fallen into gloom. They train their rifles or Sten-guns at every car approaching on empty, curfew-bound streets. They check the trunk and indulge in a bit of informal interrogation. "What time does your watch say?" It should not be half an hour behind; that might mean the person joined the rebels' call to adopt Pakistan standard time. "Will you have a drink with us?" One should not say no; that might be a sign of Islamic fundamentalism. If one does not pass the tests, the results can be violent. An orthopedic specialist in the city has seen 35 broken arms, several broken noses, more than 200 broken or bruised ribs—all said to have been inflicted by Indian security forces since January.

Among the most overpowering impressions in the Kashmir Valley these days is the unity of Muslim Kashmiris on one point: India has squandered the goodwill of most of the population. That is why they say India must go; that is why small children sing songs about *azaade* (freedom) and mosque loudspeakers blare all night in some neighbourhoods with revolutionary songs and impassioned

calls like "The Kashmir we have nourished with our blood is ours." Anti-Indian sentiment has spread beyond the angry young men of the Kashmir Liberation Front and the Hizb-ul-Mujahideen to parts of society that would normally be expected to support the *status quo*. Now the local police official, the senior government servant, the well-to-do middle-class businessman all talk of rebellion.

At the few checkpoints in Srinagar manned by the local Jammu and Kashmir police force, which has been all but sidelined by paramilitary forces from other parts of India, young officers joke in a decidedly treasonous way-from India's standpoint. "Good, I see you have a bomb," says one as he looks under an empty car seat. "Why don't you go and blow up the airport?" A retired civil servant tells how soldiers forced him to lick the symbol JKLF., 'painted by some vandal, off the wall of his house and pushed him around when his tongue was too dry to continue. "I supported accession [to India]," the man says, barely coherent in recalling the experience. "But now they are victimizing us. It is because we are Muslims, and they think we are Pakistani Muslims."

A senior Jammu & Kashmir policeman ventures to a meeting with journalists to relate how frustrated he is by the "outsiders"-a favourite Kashmiri term these days-in police ranks who accuse him of a pro-militant bias in his work if he raises questions about police abuses. "They tell me I am working for the militants," he says angrily, "When I am trying to find the truth, how would you feel? I don't want to be disloyal, but we are being pushed towards the militants."

The best recruiter for the rebels, however, is the curfew. The government has imposed one for more than three months; in April it clamped down a curfew for a solid 15 days-24 hours every day in most of the valley. It was supposed to freeze 1.5 million town-dwelling Kashmiris in place while the security forces cordoned off hot spots with armoured vehicles and heavily armed men; then conducted house-to-house, room-to-room, closet-to-closet searches. Though the soldiers were not widely accused of abuse-like incidents of rape and thievery alleged against paramilitary forces who had conducted earlier searches-they did not have a light touch. Today, if a visitor happens into a place recently combed by troops, there is an instant mob scene, with a dozen offers to see someone "beaten by the army" and complaints about the press failure to "tell the world about our cause and suffering here"

One man, a prosperous merchant in Kashmir's craft export trade, was held at gunpoint on the lawn of his home in Srinagar while soldiers entered his house, frisked his wife-an extraordinary

violation of honour in India, most of all among Muslims-and grilled him on his political beliefs. An old copy of a foreign news magazine with a picture of Pakistani Prime Minister Benazir Bhutto on the cover nearly got him hauled off for interrogation, but he managed to explain it away. His neighbour was less fortunate. He was taken away because he was flying a green Islamic flag on his house; four days later, he returned, badly bruised after hours of interrogations and beating by soldiers. Says a senior local policeman: "The army was told to teach these people a lesson."

The curfew strangles life in the valley. When it is on men simply sit in their houses on street corners or in small parks, out of sight of the security men on the main road. They cannot go to work because of the curfew, but there is no work anyway. The US Dollar 300 million tourism industry of Kashmir, once touted as "Paradise on Earth," is dead. Government offices, shops and the few industries are shuttered under the curfew. Banks are also closed most of the time, though a few, like the State Bank of India, open when the curfew lifts, and long lines form outside under the watchful eyes of soldiers in bunkers manning machine guns.



Financial Times, London .
May 15, 1990.

by David Housego

"if there is a symbol of Kashmir today it is in the terrified faces of its people who bring a visitor their tale of humiliation and brutality during four months of virtual military rule."

"Kashmiris now see themselves as united in their hostility to India and living under an army of occupation."

"Industry has come to a halt. In what is normally the height of the tourist season — with the snow-lined ridges and intense green of the Valley drawing Indians in their millions up from the suffocating heat of the plains — the hotels and houseboats are empty. The endless rows of handicraft shops remain closed."

"The traumatised face of Baboo Imtiaz Ahmad, 19, a young man of almost film-star looks with a great lock of black hair, recounts how, during interrogation by paramilitary forces, he was suspended from a rotating ceiling fan."

"In a backyard in the Khawaja Bazaar district of old Srinagar, he displayed four cigarette burns on his arms and legs and deep bruising on his back from being trodden on."

"The painful stammer of a 50-year old villager, Ghulam Mahdadar, released after 18 days of interrogation, told at his village of Fatehpur, near Baramulla, how he had been hung from a tree and beaten with clubs. In the same crowded room others showed the marks of chains on their legs."

"Among the most distraught are the doctors. At the SMSH hospital, doctors say that most of the wounded brought in have had to be treated for head, neck and chest injuries — suggesting that the paramilitary forces have fired high."

"In further efforts to show that normal conditions have returned, the administration moved from Jammu (the winter capital) to Srinagar last week — though militants successfully marked the occasion by getting all shops to close. Primary schools are officially open, though at St. Joseph's near Baramulla only 10 per cent of the children have showed up. High schools and Universities are due to open this week — but several high schools are still being used as barracks."

"Hatred of India and Indian troops has become almost universal in the Valley — providing a fertile ground for continuing insurgency. "The whole Valley is in revolt," says a senior Kashmiri official.

"Militants cannot operate without the full support of the people, and they have that. They still enjoy enormous sympathy — and probably more among the Kashmir police and administration."



Financial Times, London
May 15, 1990.

MILITARY CRUSHES KASHMIR FAITH IN SECULARISM

by David Housego

India's democratic traditions have suffered the damage that comes from using force on a segment of its own people an operation that at the same time brings the armed forces into disrepute.

Secularism, the belief that different creeds can live together and which has been the corner-stone of India's identity as a nation- has been lost from sight with the departure of Hindu minority who dominated hospitals, education, banks, insurance and distribution of pharmaceuticals. Kashmiri Muslims increasingly feel that their religion itself has become an offence.

Industry has come to a halt. In what is normally the height of the tourist season-with the snow-lined ridges and intense green of the valley drawing Indians in their millions up from the suffocating heat of the plains-the hotels and houseboats are empty. the endless rows of handicraft shops remain closed.

The traumatised face of Baboo Imtiaz Ahmad, 19,a young man of almost film-star looks with a great Lock of black hair, recounts how, during interrogation by paramilitary forces, he was suspended from a rotating ceiling fan.

In a backyard in the Khawaja Bazar district of old Srinagar, he displayed four cigarette burns on his arms and legs and deep bruising on his back from being trodden on.

The painful stammer of a 50-year old villager, Ghulam Mohammed Dar, released after 28 days of interrogation, told at his village of Fatehpur, near Baramulla, how he had been hung from a tree and beaten with clubs. In the same crowded room others showed the marks of chains on their legs.

At the *Eidgah* in Srinagar the open field where Muslims celebrate the Eid Festival-on one side a rough martyrs grave has been dug for militants and others, who have recently been killed. A young man shouts in a characteristic mixture of desperation:"Everyone here is prepared to die. We have only two choices, to die or be liberated."

An old man sobs in Court lane in Srinagar. He lost his two sons in cross-fire the day before.

Among the most distraught are the doctors. At the SMHS Hospital, doctors say that most of the wounded brought in have had to be treated for head, neck and chest injuries-suggesting that the paramilitary forces have fired high.

At the Lal Ded Maternity Hospital-the largest In Kashmir-Dr. Mir Nazir Ahmed, the Chief Medical Superintendent, describes the last five months as a nightmare. He says that he has had to manage with only 20 per cent of his skilled staff."Most of the staff is Hindu,"he said,"They have left, packed up and gone without even telling me."

The Telegraph, Calcutta.
May 16, 1990.

KASHMIR: A MORAL ISSUE

by Ashok Mitra

....Do we see the end of the tunnel in Kashmir...? We may win all the narrow technical and legal arguments on Kashmir. We may prove to our hearts' content that the Pakistani authorities have been upto all kinds of mischief along the border. Besides, as development elsewhere in the world also indicate, a hundred complications can cloud the right to break away on the part of another political entity. Each of these points may be well taken. That does not still obliterate the outstanding other reality.

Jagmohan and round-the-clock curfews and the most intensive combing operations by the Army accompanied by shootings and killings and detentions without trial can at most enable us to hold on to Kashmir in the physical sense. But these modalities, which yield results for today, could also provide the ground for fear that we might run the risk of losing irretrievable the battle for the Kashmiri mind. Whether we like to admit the fact or not, the conditions are one of insurgency in Kashmir; not even a minuscule faction of the population in the Valley is currently in a mood to continue the political connection with the Indian Union. Because of the operations undertaken over the past four months, the situation has actually worsened. As the rigours of the curfew have mounted, more young people have either been shot or picked up for interrogation by the Army, and stories of official excesses' have spread like wild fire, revulsion toward the Indian Union has grown even more intense.

The Jagmohans serve a limited purpose, they are no answer to ethnic nationalism. An army of occupation is just that; it does not even succeed in pacification, it merely puts the lid on a boiling cauldron. Pakistan's endeavours notwithstanding, since most other nations have skeletons in their own cupboard, the rest of the world may let us keep Kashmir. That would not however signal the end of the affair. Unassuaged national sentiments will seek a way out. However, punctilious the surveillance, these days no border is beyond penetration. With AK-27s and AK-47s available in the bazaars at reportedly less than two thousand rupees apiece... the Valley promises to reverberate with gunfire for months on end and years on end. We may still manage to keep Kashmir in shackles. How do we escape from the moral problem though? There is one pseudo-secualr argument aired with some vigour in defence of our official stand over Kashmir which richly deserves to be instantly

demolished. We must, it is said, hold on to Kashmir by hook or by crook, for, should the valley be lost, Hindu fundamentalism in the country will raise its head, it will begin to spit fire, and, seething with dark anger at the dispossession of Kashmir, it will make a target of the life and property of our one hundred million and odd Muslim compatriots: this is a frightening argument, for it wants to give formal recognition to the doctrine 'of the hostage'. Short of verbiage, it really amounts to the following: in case Kashmir leaves India, the Hindu fanatics will in retribution try to liquidate the nations' Muslim minorities; we cannot allow that to happen, so Kashmir has to be retained by us, if necessary by force. The argument is false on at least two counts. First, the issue in Kashmir is neither communal nor religious, it is one of nationalism seeking to assert its dignity. Second, secularism cannot be a conditional attitude. Whether Kashmir stays or goes is an issue which, in the final analysis, concerns the fundamentalist who want to drag our country back into the dark morass of medievalism is a separate clear-cut-issue of principle; that fight has to be without compromise, and it must not be made into an alibi for abdicating from our moral commitments elsewhere.



*Editorial in Arab News, Jeddah.
May 22, 1990.*

THE VALLEY OF DEATH

The daily sound of gunfire now echoes through the Kashmir Valley and with it flows the blood of innocent people whose only desire is to exercise their God-given right to self-determination. Blood flows, scenes of despair and misery are recorded and yet no solution appears to be in sight.

The death toll since the Kashmir uprising began has become meaningless. Nameless, the dead are buried and even their corpses are fired upon by trigger-happy troops, as was the case with Moulvi Farooq's funeral. But this has failed to quench the fire of freedom burning in the hearts of all Kashmiris, young and old, male or female, progressive or fundamentalist, or whatever their label.

But the killing spree in Kashmir goes on. Human rights groups are banned from entering the valley. Kashmiri youths are rounded up, chained like animals and taken away to far away prisons in Rajasthan and Bengal. Many will never come out alive from those dark holes.

It is in the light of this that the killing of Moulvi Farooq by unidentified gunmen, widely believed to be an extra-judicial killing, takes on a more sinister turn.

It is high time that all past mistakes be rectified and Kashmiris given their basic rights of freedom; rights which the authorities cannot violate. The government should be told enough to hold a referendum and accept the verdict of the people. Until it does that, blood will continue to flow in the (Valley of Death).



Far Eastern Economic Review, Honkong.
May 24, 1990.

AND THEN SHOT ME

by James Clad

Since January, day in and day out, a terrible cycle of a repression has been savaging one of South Asia's most beautiful places. New Delhi seems to hope that a measured but relentless use of force will keep the Kashmir Valley within the Indian Union. The trouble is virtually no Kashmiri Muslim any longer wishes to remain in India.

On 9th May, security forces reacted to several grenades thrown in the Lal Chowk market area in Srinagar behind indiscriminately firing automatic weapons. Firing continue sporadically for several hours. Visits to local hospitals showed at least eight people died in the violence. Even after the authorities relaxed the curfew later in the day, inhabitants walked past sandbagged control points with hands held high; the soldiers' rifles were trained on them.

"Even on days without curfew normality is deceptive", says a senior police officer. There is a sharp divide between outside security forces, numbering nearly 150,000 men, and the 17,000 local Jammu & Kashmir. Each day results in new block-by-block searches, often by regular army units in full battle dress.

At the hospitals, exhausted staff deal with traumatic injuries. Records at the city's largest hospital show 415 people entering since January 1, with bullet wounds.

Dr. Mir Nazir Ahmed, Superintendent of the gynaecological hospital, described the bedlam erupting in his hospital when shooting occurred nearby on 9th May and casualties started to come in, including a peddler caught in the cross-fire: "I would see that he had started sinking. We have no surgical theater here, I sent him in an ambulance but they (the paramilitary forces) would not let the vehicle through to the main hospital." Many ambulances do have bullet holes and large dents said to be caused by rifles butts.

Physicians claim that two of their colleagues, Dr. Yasin Malik and Dr. Salim, have in recent weeks been detained and beaten. Gul Javid Mohammad, a 70-year old retired Director of Statistics and Planning is in hospital with a chest wound. Soldiers burst into his home and rushed up the stairs. He recalled: "I opened the door and thought, why is this man standing in front of me with a gun, and then he shot me."

That abuses were being committed by India's array of forces is beyond question.



The Tribune Chandigarh
May 26, 1990.

by Humara Qurashi

"The Delhi-Srinagar airlink is now reduced to barely one flight a day and the aircraft is half empty. The passengers are businessmen or anxiety-ridden members of a few families who got stuck in Delhi and have now decided to go back to our city even if Jaganmohan clamps curfew for four months. If we die there, there will be someone to bury us" says a young woman, sobbing.

"As the plane takes off, I meet an apple orchard owner from Sopore who relates harrowing tales of the day long raids of houses ransacked and women forced to sit for hours outside their homes. A *pashmina* shawl trader says that he is going to Srinagar after 11 months because business is totally finished: 'nothing is being made, so what can we sell?' Of course, nobody wants his or her name to be printed.

"Srinagar wears a deserted look. Only CRPF men line themselves on either side of the roads. At one point, there is a brief crossfire. Police jeeps move at high speed with 10 constables pointing their guns right at passersby. Says J.M. Qureshi, Adviser to the Governor, 'The police have to be in this position—have to fire any second'.

"The hotel where I check in is partially closed. Out of 103 rooms barely 10 are occupied and the 350-strong staff has now been reduced to 61. There is a civil curfew (*bandh*) and I remain indoors. 'It is a sad state of affairs. I feel both angry and sorry. Everything seems gone', says a waiter, a Kashmiri Hindu.

"The next morning, the curfew has been lifted and there is some evidence of life on the roads. But everybody is very sceptical: 'anything can happen any time'. Very few people really venture out. I walk past Lal Chowk, then the Bund, ferry across Jhelum and go towards Presentation Convent. Although there is no curfew and schools and offices are officially open, there are only a few people on the roads.

"I speak to a few parents waiting outside the Presentation Convent. They have come to collect their girls after the school is over. Says Rukhsana, a young mother, 'Although the schools opened three days back, I didn't send my daughter because the CRPF men were stationed here and we are scared of them. The Principal had the CRPF replaced by the J & K police, and now we are more relaxed'. 'My two daughters have nothing on their minds except raids and police firing', says another mother.

"What we have gone through is just *zulum* (tyranny). I have seen beards being pulled off, even fasting men being made to drink 'nullah' water. Yes, print all this with my name and photograph. I have seen so much of cruelty that words fail me. I feel choked', says Munira Khanum. 'Homes are raided 10 times. We are being pushed to the wall. What is our fault? What have we done that we are being reduced to starvation? How can you expect us to feel normal?' Mufti Bahauddin Faruqi, a former Chief Justice of J&K who took premature retirement in 1983 because of 'too much humiliation from the Centre and the Law Ministry' says 'Kashmir is crying for justice. The government is treating every person as a suspect'.

"Even women are not spared. What justice is this? The searches are done in a most brutal way. Even before dawn the whole area is cordoned off and loudspeakers keep blaring that everybody should come out'.

"For the whole day, the search is carried on while the families sit outside for hours without food and water. Even women in labour are not allowed to move. I am told that the daily admissions to the mental hospital have increased phenomenally. To whom do we complain? I don't expect any relief even from the President of India. Can you imagine all Muslim judges being called subversives? The records at a leading hospital show the intake of 22,992 patients between December '88 and June '89. But now (Dec. 89 to May 1990) the intake is only 8,661. That means 14,000 couldn't go to the hospital because of curfews', says Bahauddin.

"The records at SMHS Hospital show that five or six patients who have been injured in crossfiring are admitted everyday. Srinagar, incidentally, has seven other hospitals. On certain days each hospital has about 60 to 100 injured civilians, most of them innocent citizens caught in the cross-fire. 'We alone, at SMHS Hospital, had around 70 such cases on January 19', a doctor says.

"Not more than 50 per cent survive because there is shortage of medicines and staff, and if the curfew is clamped then the injured people

cannot even reach the hospital', says a senior doctor.

"Ghulam Hussain, who is 100 years old, says that 'seeing the atrocities near my home in Idgah (Nava Kadal) area has made me a very different person. I cannot bear to see my fellow men suffering so much'.

"I ask everyone I meet whether he or she has gone to the Governor with all these problems. The answer is invariably in the negative. 'Who listens to us? Everyone of us is a suspect.'

"The Governor says he meets people who come to him with their problems. I tell Justice Bahauddin. 'Nonsense! Those photographs showing him meeting people are all old ones taken during his previous stay here', he quips.

"Tahir Aamir, a correspondent of the local Kashmir Times, says it is folly to expect peace. 'People have nothing to eat. Most of my friends were privately employed and now whatever saving they have had are also exhausted; so it is virtual starvation'.

"Mr. Mirajuddin, a well-known photo-journalist working for the PTI and Reuter, has a harrowing tale to tell: 'I was beaten up by the CRPF people on March 14 while I was covering a peaceful procession. My camera was snatched away. It is still with them. Recently, I was even picked up by them for questioning, and released after 33 hours. Why was I picked up? Because a passerby, whom they labelled a 'miscreant' spoke to me. In fact, all that he (the passerby) asked me was why Kashmir Times was not coming out and within seconds of that I was picked up'.

"Mr. H.N. Wanchoo, a Kashmiri Pandit and a trade union activist, stays in Srinagar's Jawahar Nagar and says that Hindus are perfectly safe in the Valley.

"But then why have so many fled to Jammu, Delhi and Amritsar? I ask.

"They did not leave the Valley. They were made to leave. In fact, Muslims cried when they left but who could have stopped them when it was all planned? I know for certain that the government paid each leaving Hindu family Rs. 1,000 per month. And even the state and central government employees are getting their salary and an extra Rs. 1,000. And that's why the AG's office, LIC, Post and Telegraphs and banks are all empty'.

"The Muslims of Kashmir have never harmed the Hindus. Let me give you two very touching incidents. Two Hindu widows—Shanta Mali of Baramulla and Mrs Sona Batani of Chatta Bal—died recently and there was nobody to perform their last rites. Their Muslim

neighbours performed the last rites strictly according to the Hindu customs and traditions.

"Mr. Wanchoo says that all this fear is also instilled by the BJP. 'You know the BJP created a riot in Jammu in which a Muslim was killed. but here we (Muslims and Hindus) pledged that no matter how much you provoke us we'll not react'.

"Dr. Gwendolin, a Christian doctor, at the SMHS Hospital says that there are 500 Christians in Srinagar and 'we are absolutely safe'. And she adds: 'The Kashmiris have genuine problems. They have no rights or freedom but only harassment'.

"Before I started going around Srinagar an officer told me that it is a better off town 'with no beggars' and that 'nobody is shelterless here'. But I was shocked to see not only beggars (at least 10 on the Bund in front of Grindlay's Bank and another 15 in the posh Lal Chowk area) Many a family had no roof over their heads. Many a *shikara* has been stripped naked—a bare, dirty wooden skeleton. 'We are ruined. Our sales are zero. Earlier we used to have a 10-course meal. But during the curfew days, we did not have even black tea. We had to pluck off weeds/grass from the garden and eat it with stored rice', says one of the biggest exporters of the city, pleading that I withhold his name.

"One raid was conducted yesterday and if my name comes out in print, even my whole shop will be ruined', he says. 'As it is, we can't even pay workers. All the money lies blocked in the banks'.

"On the banking front, V.P. Gupta, Regional Manager of the Union Bank of India, who was in Srinagar to have the two local branches opened after three months says: 'All banks have lost deposits heavily—some 35 to 40 per cent from December; loaning has almost collapsed. Loans have to be rescheduled and we have to lengthen the payment period'.

"At least two young persons, both educated and with middle class backgrounds, said 'Why can't V.P. Singh be like Uncle Gorbachev?'

"Justice Bahauddin feels that 'India has never kept any pledge, but George does enjoy a lot of respect here. A plebiscite is really needed'.

"Yosuf Jameel of the BBC feels that the anti-Indian sentiment is there, but hard measures cannot remove it. 'Militants say they are ready to talk provided the government of India agrees to implement the U.N. resolution, and if there is an international guarantee too. But the government of India says that talks are possible only within the Constitution. So that way the problem will continue'."

Weekly Sunday Observer, New Delhi.
May 27-June 2, 1990.

"On our return from Idgah, a small group of women requested us to stop and listen to their tales of daily sufferings at the hand of the para-military forces. 'My son and nephew were picked up last night from my house,' said middle-aged Saara. She said she was abused and her daughter maltreated by the uniformed raiders. 'They came in and started to beat up teenage boys without asking anything,' said another."

"Lists of teenage boys still with the security forces were given to the reporters. Within minutes, the small group swelled to a crowd of at least 200 women and children. 'Ham to Hindustan ke raj me tabah ho gaye' (we will perish under the Indian government) several of them said, requesting the foreign reporters to tell the world that no democracy existed in Kashmir."

"In areas of the old city of Srinagar where the security forces have conducted several raids, the doors were mostly broken, window panes smashed and houses ransacked. Everybody had a similar story to tell."



The Times of India, Delhi..
May 28, 1990.

by Prem Shankar Jha

"Indians hold two distinct perceptions of the causes of insurgency in Kashmir Valley. The first is that the bulk of the Kashmiris, narrowly defined as the residents of the Valley, are Muslims and cannot therefore be loyal to India. The second is that Kashmiris are fed up with being denied their democratic rights by a succession of corrupt puppet regimes foisted on them by New Delhi, and want to run their own affairs now. Both views contain enough truth to be plausible but neither comes any where near touching the root causes of militancy in the Valley.

"Communalism was injected into the Valley only after independence by the Hindu Mahasabha.

"Kashmiris have undoubtedly been denied their democratic rights.

"Kashmiris cannot therefore be blamed for believing that they are doomed to remaining second class citizens in India.

"Above all, the denial of democratic rights does not explain why only the Muslim and not the Hindu youth is alienated. Nor does it explain, for that matter, why it is the youth and not their fathers who are

up in arms, for arguably, the latter have suffered this deprivation for much longer.

"In Kashmir, militancy is not born out of poverty or economic deprivation, but of the despair of a small, select group of young people, who form a new but disinherited middle class. This is not the large *petit bourgeoisie* that has grown rich in post-independence times on tourism, handicrafts and horticulture, but a class trained in the schools and colleges set up after independence to become salary-earners in government, large industry and trade. In other words, this is a class that was trained to wield power, but denied the opportunity to do so. The denial of political rights is only a small part of their dispossession.

"For them the opportunities that Kashmir provided have been exhausted. Not only is the remote valley not well-suited to industrialisation, but a disproportionate number of the salaried jobs that have been created, have gone to the Kashmiri Pandits.

"Particularly galling to the young educated Muslims is the fact that the offices of the banks and the private sector companies in Kashmir are also staffed overwhelmingly with people from outside Kashmir and Kashmiri Pandits. Kashmiri Muslims have obtained jobs, but these are concentrated at the lower end of the scale. Accusations of Indian colonialism are rooted squarely in this employment pattern.

"The alternative to finding jobs in Kashmir is to fan out into the rest of India, as the youth from other parts of India have done. But this is where the Kashmiri young man finds himself at a crippling disadvantage. When a young man from Bihar or Tamil Nadu comes to Delhi in search of a job, he usually has a relative or a friend to stay with, and a network of associates who can help him to look for a job. The young Kashmiri Hindu has such a ready-made support structure, but the young Kashmiri Muslim does not.

"India, moreover, looks a forbidding place to him. He is intimidated not only by the heat, crowds and dirt, but by the fact that the moment he crosses the Pir Panjal, he comes out of what is still a non-communal society into a thoroughly communalised one in which, to make matters worse, his co-religionists perceive themselves as a disadvantaged minority.

"Unlike India, Pakistan did not try to maintain a special status for 'Azad' Kashmir. Kashmiris have, therefore, spread out throughout Pakistan, and have also migrated in large numbers. Thus the support structure that they miss in India, exists for their 'Azad' Kashmiri counterparts. To ice the cake, in Pakistan, they do not feel they are a disadvantaged minority as in India.

"Constitutional protection has thus conspired unwittingly with geographical and cultural isolation to turn Kashmiri Muslims into an unprotected depressed class."



May 23, 1990.

APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION. **Amnesty International**

On 21 May, dozens of unarmed civilians were killed near the Islamia College in Srinagar when the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) allegedly opened fire indiscriminately on mourners accompanying the body of Maulavi Mohammad Farooq, the head priest of Srinagar who had been shot earlier that day by three unidentified gunman.

The exact number of people killed is not known. Official reports say 20 people died on the spot and 27 later died of gunshot wounds in hospital. However, some unofficial reports put the total number of people killed as high as 177. During a debate in Parliament, on 22 May, government ministers reportedly said that militants mingling in the crowd of mourners had opened fire first on the CRPF and that civilians had been killed in the "crossfire". Witnesses and journalists did not support this interpretation and said the shootings on unarmed people were unprovoked and indiscriminate. Although several members of the CRPF are reportedly now receiving treatment for injuries, to Amnesty International's knowledge none were killed during the incident, as might have been expected in an open exchange of fire with militants.

Recommended Action

Expressing concern about reports of arbitrary killings of dozens of unarmed civilians accompanying the body by Maulvi Mohammad Farooq in Srinagar on 21 May; urging the authorities to establish an immediate, independent investigation into these and previous reports of possible extrajudicial executions.



India. Today , New Delhi.
May 31, 1989.

KASHMIR: VALLEY OF TEARS

by **INDER JIT BADHWAR**

A tidal wave of protest that has engulfed the Valley began to peak last week as a "Quit Kashmir" *hartal* [strike] paralysed life in major cities. Srinagar should have been bustling with tourists, but a graveyard-like silence took hold. The *hartal* was only the latest manifestation of a continuing agitation, separatist in its outward expression and pro-Pakistani in its extreme form. Demonstrations and police firings have claimed some 50 lives in the last year-more than in any period in the last two decades.

Not since August 1953, when Sheikh Abdullah was arrested and jailed on subversion charges, and hundreds of people were killed or incarcerated as valley-wide protests erupted, has Kashmir seem such an outburst of separatist frenzy. As veteran Congress (I) leader Trilochan Dufta put it: "It seems as if the pro-plebiscite movement has been revived."

But there is one vital difference: the militants, mostly young and unemployed, or petty shopkeepers, are fighting with guns and bombs. Mercifully, however, they have not yet learnt to kill. They have still not tasted blood. But that, police sources say, is not far away. A deputy superintendent of police, in charge of one of the newly formed commando units, who had faced an irate mob in the old city's ghetto area in which several youths were injured in police firing, said: "They have lost their fear. They stand right in front of your guns and dare you to shoot them. How can you fight people like these? In the past the most they did was pelt stones or set off crude home-made bombs and then ducked for cover. This behaviour is new, it is almost un-Kashmiri."

For the militants are rapidly becoming heroes and legends. And martyrs. Secretly admired not just by the streetwise lumpen of the cities' endless ghettos, but also by intellectuals and businessmen who discuss their exploits over scotch and soda. Says Shariq Ali, an exporter of Kashmiri *namdas* and handicrafts: "We've always had a slave mentality. Now there's a secret feeling of pride that the slaves are fighting back." In Kahnyar and Naidkadal, where a pitched battle took place in April during a four-day *hartal* following the death of the father of People's League leader Shabbir Shah in police custody, the "*naujawans*" [youngsters] who had fired at the police with Kalashnikovs were carried on the shoulders of admiring mobs who showered them with kisses and milk in traditional Kashmiri revelry style.

In Srinagar's Maisuma Bazaar, Ashiq Hussein, 18, an unemployed son of a taxi driver went from hero to martyr in one year, after the police held him in jail for interrogation for six months, suspecting him of manufacturing bombs. Two months ago, he was shot through the heart by a police bullet during a demonstration. His grandmother Rahti and his mother Hameeda, who live in a crowded tenement, still cradle his photograph and wail with grief. "He was a good boy," shrieks Hameeda. "He liked to play cricket and carrom. And just before he was shot, he had been promised a government job. Life has become so cheap. We spit on Farooq Abdullah."

Maisuma is typical of Kashmir's ghettos. Serpentine alleys. Garbage-choked drains that empty into the Jhelum. Sheep, dogs, cattle mixing with children who tote toy guns. Suffocation. The locality is known for the bravery of its women who took to the streets for Sheikh Abdullah, when he was battling the Dogra rulers and later, during the post-1955 plebiscite movement. If you said anything against the Sheikh's family in public, chances were you'd be lynched. Today the same could happen, if you praise that family.

"Look around you," says Mazoor Ahmed, 28, a shopkeeper in the area. "For 40 years, despite promises, there's been no improvement. Everything is filthier, grimmer. There are no jobs. To enter engineering or medical colleges officials are bribed with Maruti cars. When we protest we are branded terrorists".

Mohammed Yaseen Malik, 22, is also from Maisuma. He was a die-hard Muslim United Front (MUF) activist during the assembly election campaign. He was involved in several protest demonstrations last year: was arrested, beaten up, viciously abused. He had a congenital heart ailment that needed treatment. When the authorities refused to get him medical help, he went on a hunger fast which led to his release. He said in an interview shortly after leaving jail: "They gave me no reasons. They spat on me. They locked me in a small cage. They called me a 'Pakistani bastard'. I told them I wanted my rights. Today, along with Shabbir Shah, Ashfaq Majid, Javed Ahmed Mir, and Hamid Sheikh, Yaseen is on the police's most wanted list with a price of Rs 30,000 on his head.

Afzal Shah (not his real name), 22, is a tailor in Baramulla district. Burn marks on his left thighs administered by hot iron rods and cigarette burns on his forehead and left shoulder attest to his recent three months in police custody. He was arrested in Srinagar shortly after intelligence agencies identified him as having crossed the border last year for a five-month training stint. He is now out on bail, and faces charges of crossing the border illegally.

The massive *namaaz* (prayer) was preceded by the reading of an honour roll of the valley's youth, who have been killed in police firings over the last few months. The Maulana calls them martyrs of Kashmir and the congregation prays for their souls. On the pathway newspapers containing pictures of people killed in the various agitations [in Kashmir].

Around the Jamia Masjid lie nests of slums whose inhabitants are small traders in cement and crockery, carpet weavers, handicraft artisans, butchers and *wazas* (Kashmiri chefs). Past Safikadal, where Kalashnikovs were first used by militants, past the Nawakadal bridge, a favourite bomb target of the militants, lie Rajourikadal, the Mrwaiz's stronghold, Borikadal, Kahnyar and Naidkadal.

The youth of these areas have christened various mohallas with code names like Khalistan, Baluchistan, Palestine. In the centre of this area is what the militants label their Akal Takht, a neighbourhood called Zainakadal.

Compared to the main shopping areas of Srinagar, the hopelessly congested and claustrophobic areas of Lal Chowk and Badshah chowk, where *khaki* uniforms form the backdrop of every activity, the Zainakadal area is virtually free of police. Shopkeepers and artisans talk freely about creating Pakistan or 'liberating' Kashmir. Last month a pitched battle took place here. A painter's shop, owned by Mohammad Amin, was riddled with 22 bullet holes. One made its way through the chin of a portrait of the poet Iqbal [1877--1938]. Says Mushtaq, a shopkeeper, pointing to an unpaved road: "This is our *Parikrama* leading to our Akal Takht. It is here that the Indians will have to mount Operation Red Star. But we are not afraid. When you come here next year you will have to bring your passport." And the crowd around him intones in chorus: "*Inshallah*."

Mention the name of Farooq Abdullah and the eyes turn murderous. "He is a disco dancer," they say. "He develops golf courses and cable cars, while we go to hell. Our weavers and artisans starve, and he and his ministers steal all the money. And when we protest he shoots us and throws us in jail." And it is in neighbourhoods such as these in large parts of South Kashmir in the Jammat-e-Islami dominated Sopore, in Anantnaga, in the backward hill district of Kupwara, where people eke out subsistence existences that the youth have begun to form "suicide squads" aimed at ushering in what is being whispered about as a "Quit Kashmir Movement".

Sub-groups, owing partial or organisational allegiance to the People's League and the Liberation Front have emerged in the neighbourhoods: Al-Fatah: Al-Jehad: Victory Commandos: Jaanbaaz Force: Maqbool Force. And taking a lead from [Indian] Punjab, they have begun to issue regular press releases

Says, People's Conference leader Abdul Ghani Lone who was himself once considered a radical firebrand: "The sad thing is that moderate leadership is now being finished. Our youths now prefer to listen to the sound of the gun rather than even to my voice. there are no longer any institutions here, no political heroes." Some 40 per cent of the valley's population is between 20 and 30 years of age. Even during the Sheikh's time when agitations, like the one in 1964 following the theft of the Prophet's hair, turned virulently anti-Indian, stalwarts like Maulana Saeed of Gandherbal, and Moiuddin Kara, and Maulana Masoodi, were able to contain it or change its direction. Today, these elders admit, they are unable to influence the youths, who harbour a universal betrayal by all [these] political leaders.

Kashmir's turbulent history is that the state, even as the rest of India burned in communal frenzy, never experienced communal violence except for a brief period in 1986 preceding Governor's Rule. Its religious tradition has been one of Sufi tolerance as against that of the Jamaat-e-Islami that subscribes to the Wahabi belief of an Islamic state. The Jamaat's hold, however, is confined to pockets in Baramulla, and it propagates its ideology mostly through fundamentalist schools run by a trust.

But now, as the moderate leadership declines and the hotheads take over, minorities are beginning to feel threatened. Says Dr Avtar Karishan Ganjoo, a Kashmiri Pandit, who was municipal chairman of Sopore for nine years and who now runs a charitable medical practice right next to the Jamaat-e-Islami office: "The majority community has always respected us. But something in the atmosphere is changing."

If there is a major communal conflagration not just Kashmir but the entire country will burn. There is not much time left in which to stem the tide of extremism. And nothing will work as a better antidote to Pakistan and separatism than a heavy dose of Indian democracy. Otherwise the sentiment that Kashmir is denied its fundamental right to choose its own leaders, because the rest of the country discriminates against it on the basis of religion will continue to gain currency.

And, no matter how irrational the vision, the youth of Kashmir will persist in the belief that their rights will be better

safeguarded within a Muslim country like Pakistan. Kashmiri youths are beginning to learn from the tactics of Punjab militants.



The Hindustan Times, New Delhi.
June 1, 1990.

by Brij Bhardwaj

"The extent of mismanagement in Kashmir on the day Moulvi Farooq was shot down is difficult to imagine and there is no better way to bring it home than to narrate the events as they took place.

"As soon as the Moulvi is shot with several bullets inside him there is little hope for him, but his pulse is still running showing signs of life and he is carried to Sher-e-Kashmir Medical Institute at Soura.

"Under normal circumstances such an incident should have brought the top brass running to the scene, but in this case they chose to stay away as they were not clear what they wanted to do.

"As soon as the news spread, a large crowd started collecting at the medical institute.

"In the meantime, no one officially chose to come on the scene to express grief. It should not be forgotten that the Moulvi was not only a political leader but also a religious head. It is reported that the authorities seriously debated this course, but decided not to take action as they feared that they might get a hostile reception as it happened when Punjab Governor Nirmal Mukarji went to call on the family of HMT manager in Chandigarh. They were also afraid that the crowd may be infiltrated by the militants who may harm them physically.

"The Additional Director-General of Police present on the scene also did not act because he expected the Director-General, who was on the way to the control room, to give a clear directive. In the meantime, the Additional Director-General reported that he was keeping the Border Security Force men present at Soura under check as he feared that under provocation they may open fire.

"In the interim period, the basic precautions like keeping a force at the head of the procession as well as behind it were not taken nor were any instructions issued to the pickets, which were in position between Soura and Mirwaiz Manzil. The procession passed two pickets without any incident, but things took an ugly turn when it approached Islamia College, a divisional headquarters of the CRPF.

"The headquarter, which had a large armoury consisting of

automatic weapons as well as other arms, had no officer present at that time. The men were also in a confused state as contrary messages had been passed on the wireless system. They were in a panic when they saw a huge crowd marching towards them and feared that they may attempt to loot the armoury.

"These men just opened fire and went on firing till they had virtually exhausted the ammunition. The bullets fired were in hundreds and many of them found their mark and those injured included pall-bearers of the Moulvi. Some bullets also hit his coffin. The result was a complete chaos and violence, which did not serve any purpose, and left behind a bitter memory."

"The killing of the Moulvi which would have made lakhs of the Moulvi's followers angry with the militants, turned their wrath on the authorities.

"If the events of May 21 were bad, what happened earlier in terms of mass exodus of Kashmiri Pandits including officials from the Valley was no better. It was a strange case of administration instead of stepping forward to provide protection to minorities, encouraged them to migrate by providing transport and other help.

"The worst was the case in respect of Government staff. As if the move to allow the Government staff to leave for Jammu was not bad enough, even the men in uniform were allowed to go. It was strange that while the local Muslim employees were being asked to report for duty as they were a part of the essential services, an employee from the minority community was being allowed to migrate to Jammu or in some cases even to Delhi and draw his salary there.

"It was strange that men in uniform who are to protect the ordinary citizens were allowed to leave Kashmir in mass because they could not protect themselves from militants even though they were armed. An officer on duty at airport told this reporter, how come the girls serving in central forces were in service in Srinagar but the local police women have been allowed to migrate in the interest of security.

"This led to question by different sections who asked how come the security of people serving in central forces was not so important as compared to locals. The ground situation today is that all police officers or men belonging to the minority community are out of Valley and few still remaining in senior positions are devising ways to leave at the first opportunity.

"This has also led to strange situation where the banks are not

being allowed to function because the minority community employees who formed nearly ninety per cent of the total strength, are not prepared to come back and fresh recruitment cannot take place till the fate of old employees is settled. The same applies to postal services, telegraph office and offices of Union Government including the electronic media.

"Even the State Government is finding it difficult to run the schools even though it had been announced long ago that all educational institutions will reopen with shifting of offices to Srinagar.

"The same position holds good in respect of technical staff in medical institutions and some allied offices. The result is that there is a growing demand that either the existing employees should come back or new hands be recruited in their place. In either case the solution of the problem will not be easy.

"In conclusion, one cannot help having a quick look at the situation in Kashmir which is the subject of anxiety today and will probably remain so in days to come. It may be mentioned that all these days when the countrymen were being fed with soothing stories of normalcy prevailing in Kashmir, the Valley was being subjected to constant bouts of either official curfew or civilian one.

"The Civil Secretariat, however, was working because all the staff members were packed in buses in the morning and under armed escort carried to the Secretariat. During this period, traffic on roads connecting Tourist Centre, where the employees are housed, and Secretariat was closed for all other traffic.

"As for banks, markets and other institutions they remained closed as a matter of rule and opened only on few days of grace. Yet another development noted during recent times has been the joining of militant ranks in large number by sons of prominent workers belonging to National Conference and Congress-I. It may be mentioned here that one of the accused arrested in connection with the kidnapping of Dr. Rubaiya Sayeed, daughter of Union Home Minister Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, was a son of a prominent Minister in Dr. Farooq Abdullah Ministry.

"Irrespective of the explanation, there is little doubt that the joining of militant ranks by young members of the families which have been traditionally associated with pro-India parties marks a turning point in the militant movement in Jammu and Kashmir."



The Independent, London.
June 6, 1990.

KASHMIR VILLAGERS TELL TORTURE BY INDIAN TROOPS

by Raymond Whitaker

THE MEN of Haihama-payerpora, a picturesque farming community of some 1,000 souls on the rim of the Kashmir Valley, filed into the parlour of their Sarpanch, or headman, Rustam Reali Khan, and sat cross-legged around the walls. Some had difficulty in walking, and one had clearly lost his senses. They had return the day before from 15 days in Indian army detention.

One by one they lifted their clothes to show massive bruises, burns from electrodes and heated rods, cuts and rope sores. Their torture seems limited only by the ingenuity of their captors - one man, whose feet were bandaged up to the ankles, said a bed of coal had been covered with corrugated iron and a deep layer of sand, which slowed their progress when the prisoners were forced to run across it.

The army comes to Haihampayerpora almost every day. Kupwara district is right on the 1948 ceasefire line dividing Kashmir, and what was a small military depot, a hundred yards from the village, has swollen into a camp holding more than 500 men. India claims that the militants fighting against New Delhi's 42-year reign in Jammu and Kashmir are receiving assistance from the Pakistani side of the line.

One morning in mid-May the troops arrived at the village in force. They seized Mr. Khan, a 75-year old Indian army veteran, and administered electric shocks to him and his wife's brother. In all 15 men were taken, but only 14 came back. Mr. Khan's brother-in-law, Altaf Aly, was beaten to death in custody.

The group, a mixture of village elders and younger men who might be tempted to support the militants, was held for eight days at a military barracks in Kupwara town, then taken 50 miles to a large camp near the airport at Srinagar, the capital of Indian Kashmir. For the whole time they were bound and blindfolded; many who contracted dysentery from the dirty water had to be dragged to the latrines. They were released at Kupwara, without shoes for the three-mile walk home.

"We were never charged," said Mr. Khan. "The soldiers simply told us that if we didn't stop supporting the militants, we would get more of the same. They also warned us to stay away from the mosque."

Life back in the village was scarcely any better. The army had cut off their drinking water, and women were molested if they went to the stream. The villagers were not allowed to tend their rice paddies, which need a great deal

of attention during the planting season, government distribution of essential supplies was stopped and even burial were prevented. "If this goes on, we'll have to leave," said the headman. "We complained to the local administrator, but he said he could do nothing. He is afraid of the troops."

Since the campaign against Indian control of Kashmir exploded late last year, New Delhi has imposed direct rule and brought in an estimated 150,000 troops and paramilitaries, ostensibly to prevent the militants terrorising the Muslim majority among the valley's six million inhabitants into supporting their demands that Kashmir become independent or part of Pakistan.

The two-hour journey from Srinagar to Kupwarra is on a bonejarring road overlooked by snowy peaks and surrounded by the rich green of newly planted rice. The homes are solidly built in modern materials to withstand Kashmir's fierce winter, but traditional carved shutters in cedarwood are still added.

Sopor, the apple-growing capital of the valley, is surrounded by verdant orchards, and also by military checkpoints. At everyone, bus passengers disembark and submit to a lingering search. The only vehicles moving freely are in the army convoys, the Border Security Force and the Combined Reserved police Force.

In Kupwara, it is hard to escape the conclusion that the security forces, who are overwhelmingly Indian and Sikhs, see it as their duty to beat an alien population into submission.

We had gone to the district to look for the home village of refugees encountered in Pakistani Kashmir a few days earlier. They had told appalling stories of rape, robberies and young men being shot. When we stopped in Kupwara to ask directions, it turned out that the village was in the three-mile wide military zone along the ceasefire line, but there were plenty of similar accounts closer to home.

Mr. Khan insisted that he and his village should be named other were less brave. As we drove through a forest settlement a few miles away, weeping villagers brought out an unconscious man. All his knuckles were badly burnt. The army and the Security Force had camped there for four days, during which time the 30-year-old man, Abdul, had been subjected to repeated electric shocks. The security forces would not let them take him to hospital, people said. The last time a doctor had tried to come to the area, he was beaten up. At this point an old man rushed out to shoo the villagers back to their homes, shouting: "We don't want any more trouble here."

Everyone else was only too eager to air complaints of harassment, threats of rape, of a 16-year-old girl led away and never seen again, of a man taken from his plough and beaten to death. One village school had 400 pupils on roll, but only 20 had turned up that day. Parents were keeping children at

home for fear of the army, according to the teachers.

The inhabitants of Kupwara town said 14 unidentified men had been buried in the local cemetery since the beginning of the year. They had been dumped in various parts of the district, their faces burnt with acid to make them unrecognisable. "You must tell people what is happening here," said one man.

Trouble appeared to be brewing when a member of the Tamil and Kashmir Police approached the car and leaned through the window, but he said: "Some of us have been beaten up too. Even we are not safe."



The Globe and Mail, Ottawa.
June 8, 1990.

by Bryan Johnson

"Constable Bashir Ahmad of the Kashmir police fights back tears as he pulls off his clothes to show a visitor the burns, whip marks and deep bruises that have turned his body into a virtual instruction manual on torture. 'I don't know what to think now,' he sobbed. 'If the Indians can do this to me, a policeman, what must be happening to civilians?'"

"Dr. G.Q. Allaqaband of SMHS Hospital in downtown Srinagar believes he has treated enough torture victims to answer that question."

"'The Indians see a Pakistani in every Kashmiri Muslim,' he said. 'All these beatings and torture are a well-planned hard-line policy. It is a moral responsibility for the free world to know about it. The world's eyes are trained elsewhere, on places like Lithuania. But nothing like this is happening in Lithuania.'"

"Precise numbers are impossible to obtain, but several hundred people have been killed, hundreds wounded, hundreds jailed, thousands beaten or tortured and perhaps tens of thousands questioned and searched."

"'We hate the Indians. They are mad dogs,' said one downtown merchant, who says the acronym IDGH scrawled throughout the city means 'Indian dogs go home.'"

"'When I asked for water, they poured petrol over my wounds,' said Constable Ahmad, a plain clothes security officer who says he was

seized by the 3rd Sikh Regiment of the Indian Army early on May 29. He said he was tortured for nine hours by an army colonel who demanded that he implicate senior Kashmir Police officials — all Muslims — in activities of the militants."



The Indian Express New Delhi.
June 10, 1990.

YOUR INDIA, NOT MINE

by Nalini Singh

As a media person you take some unusual measures to get information, or the one TV shot you are after. But few plays leave you wondering, even shaken. And finally they become a symbol of the event.

During course of two hours in Srinagar, 9 p.m. - 11 p.m., on a recent night in May (my first day in the city for TV shooting), I took off and replaced my bindi about 20 times, once every 5 minutes.

In a hired ambassador car taxi, and with a local person, we drove from Residency Road via the inner city to the outskirts to contact person who were willing to be interviewed the next day.

As we neared a picket or CRPF or BSF security personnel, the driver slowed down, and the jawan stopped us briefly to check the curfew passes. Upto this point the bindi was on, but I covered my head with a veil out of respect for local sentiment.

The next halt was in a congested mid-town residential locality, a lane of brick facades. As we approached the street, the driver flicked on the light inside the car so that the occupants could be identified from the outside.

As soon as the light went on, my contact advised, "If you don't mind, take the bindi off," he vanished into a house. At ease, I plucked the bindi off, and I recalled that a journalist friend had warned in Delhi, "The *sari* and *bindi* are red rags. If you want to do any TV shooting, go local."

Go local, I already am, I thought, sporting a loose *shalwar-qameez*. So going local only meant removing the bindi, and holding it in my hand while the inhabitants of the mohalla took a look from their window ledges.

It was a poignant moment because I was being passed through the 'fundamentalist' filter, not the filter of credibility, which is usually applied to media persons. And this in Kashmir renowned for its secular, sufi traditions.

Then the mohalla contact waved us on, and in the darkness of the next lane, I groped for the *bindi* and restored it to the forehead. Then the next curfew pass check, the next mohalla, and the mobile *bindi*.

To demands of Srinagar on this dot epitomised for me two formidable realities in Kashmir today – 'separateness' to Kashmir from India has been nurtured in the public mind for 43 years through unremitting repetition; and fundamentalists (and watchful neighbours?) have interpreted this separateness to the youth in terms of the Holy War.

The combined effect explodes in sentence such as the following heard commonly from Kashmir's young. "We were never a part of India. We became associated with India only because we wanted to build roads, hospitals, etc. Even the Assembly was only to connect the mohallas to Srinagar. It doesn't mean that we are Indian."

As I listen, the thought races through my mind that these young men, 15 to 30 years, actually believe that their affiliation with the Indian Union is absolutely ephemeral.

All of them were born after '47/48', and none of them has direct experience of the days when the instrument of accession was negotiated. Their parents did, because by eye-witness accounts, countless people attended meetings addressed by Pt. Nehru, Sheikh Abdullah, and one where General Cariappa was also present.

I found that a faint frown of anxiety (?) passed quickly over the older faces when the room filled with younger persons' cries "Indian must get out. We want independence. *Azadi*." Chin to chest cavity, the father or uncle didn't join loudly the denunciation of "India".

What has happened to cause the younger generation to reject the link with the India Union? How is it that over the last 20 years the belief has hardened that Kashmir is "separate", that it will decide if it wants *azadi*, or merger with India or Pakistan?

While this belief was hardening north of the Pir Panjal, an equal and opposite process was going on south of the pass. "From Kashmir to Kanyakumari India is one" said the DAVP posters, official media, the mainstream press, and we internalised this message because it was consistent with our polity. Without nagging doubts, most of us became emotionally integrated with Kashmir.

So it was with disbelief, and a sense of betrayal that I observed how carefully Kashmiri youth picked their way through a

conversation to emphasis. "Your India, your parliament, your employment policy, your cities."

Clearly, this angry (militant?) section of the population in Kashmir is not saying this for its effect on you, or to break the country. So, what has caused this gulf in perception;

Lies, I'm afraid, possibly another country's industrious efforts and of course maldevelopment. But lies! Lies told to the people of Kashmir regarding their 'separateness' from India constitutionally, politically, ethnically, emotionally. Or lies told to us outside Kashmir?

I have it on authority from somebody who has dug out the speeches of Kashmiri leaders from 1950 onward that the leaders spoke in three voices: one in Delhi; one in the Kashmir Valley within reach of All India Radio: and one in villages and smaller towns. The last set have been described as seditious in the extreme.,

On the other hand, was enough done to inform the rest of the country about the actual events in Kashmir over the decades?

Not surprisingly the "boys" speak today with AK-47s' the angry Kashmiri youth whiplashes "Indian brutality and dominance", but once in a way, when you are alone in Kashmir heed the quick whisper:

"These auto-rickshaw drivers are short of cash because there's no business. That's why they shouted at you. Actually you are a sister." a taxi driver in Srinagar.

"There's hurt and pain in Kashmir. You have turned a blind eye to what has been happening here for years. But does that mean necessarily, that we want to split from India? I can't talk. Take my tears to V.P.Singh," a professor in a small town, as we talk alone amongst Deodar trees.



The Telegraph, Calcutta.

June 10, 1990.

by Shekhar Bhatia

"Almost every Kashmiri has a horror story to tell: a young boy was picked up by security forces for possessing a photograph of cricketer Imran Khan. A man was arrested because he had a foreign magazine with Benazir Bhutto on the cover. They were both accused of being 'pro-Pakistani.'"

"Kashmir has always been sensitive to touch. There has always been mistrust, but never hatred. Today, it appears to have revolted against India. The word India on the Air-India signboard has been

plastered crudely with paper, and so is the India of the Travel Corporation of India. When a respectable businessman living virtually on his savings for the past few months says he too would like 'azadi' (freedom), there must be a reason for his anger."

"They feel insulted, humiliated and terrorised, and openly show their anger at the Indian government."

"The desire for 'freedom' which till a few months ago was limited to a band of militant youths going under the banner of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front has now spread across the Valley. Even those who do not support the militant movement are heard saying, 'Tilak raised the slogan of freedom as his birth-right. Why cannot it be my birth-right.'"

"Interrogation here has assumed a new and filthy meaning. No one is spared the physical and mental agony—be he guilty or not, aged or young, a businessman or a pauper hundreds of civil servants have lost their jobs without undergoing the formality of even an enquiry."

"The dehumanising process touched its lowest when a bride and her chambermaid were pulled from a bus by the para-military forces and raped."

"The senior government officials, all of the Indian Administrative Service and all non-Kashmiris, have appealed to the new Governor, Mr. Girish 'Garry' Saxena to end excesses by paramilitary forces."



The New York Times,
June 15, 1990.

AMID KASHMIR PARADISE, A DEADLY STRUGGLE

by Barbra Crossette

Silent, barefoot men dug a very small grave recently at the Idgar Martyrs' Cemetery, a new landmark on the outskirts of this battered city. The grave was for 6-year-old Sajid Ahmad Sofi, shot by Indian troops, his relatives said, as he tried to hide between his father's legs during a search of the family home.

"Put aside the malnutrition, the shortage of vaccines, the gastroenteritis, the trauma, the nightmares of children," said Altaf Hussain, a pediatrician. "Here we have 3-year-olds, 4-year-olds subjected to bullets. And to add insult to injury, we hear them dubbed 'terrorists' on the evening news from Delhi." Over the least two years, there has been a silent revolution in the Kashmir Valley, the verdant home of poetry and song that Mogul emperors called Paradise on Earth.

Separatists Gain Support

Small groups of armed Muslim separatists, who 15 months ago were described as a radical fringe attractive mostly to unemployed youth, now apparently have the support of an alienated, influential middle class.

Kashmiris say the introduction late last year of thousands of Indian troops and paramilitary forces, who patrolled deserted streets and searched houses, only speeded up a process of alienation that has been going on for more than 40 years.

"They have made every Muslim a suspect," a businessman said of the Indian armed forces, attempts to subdue a fast-growing independence movement. "We are all militants now."

More than 10,000 civil servants are said to have signed an "open letter to the citizens of the world" cataloguing the human toll of extended curfews, violent searches, the interrogations of young men and women, the gang-rape of a bride and the firing on mourners carrying the body of the assassinated religious leader, Moulvi Mohammad Farooq.

"It was not bullets," the letter says, "but something worse than venom being poured out of those guns that has shattered hundreds of families, brought shame to Indian democracy left a scar on the psyche of Kashmir that would never be removed."



*The Times of India News Service, SRINAGAR.
June 21, 1990.*

'EXCESSES' STILL CONTINUE IN KASHMIR

By Altaf Hussain

Is the rule of Mr G.C.Saxena any different from his predecessor's?

Though some steps have been taken to alleviate the economic hardships of the people, political observers here say that the role played by the security forces still remains virtually the same.

Official sources point out that the new government has taken steps to "lift the siege" on the economy laid by Mr Jagmohan "as matter of policy". They point out that the state government, Under Mr Saxena, has provided Rs 10 crore to the handicrafts department to buy good craftsmen. The government has also decided to resume development works. Schools burnt down over the last two years, are proposed to be reconstructed. The governor has made clear that he had nothing to do with these schools, bureaucrats here say. But as for as the security forces maintaining law and order in the valley are concerned, many people feel a qualitative change is yet to take place. Incidents of alleged excesses by the security forces are cited, the Yusuf

Jameel incident being the more well-known.

Soon after taking over as governor, Mr. Saxena had spelt out his policy saying that while there will be no let up in the drive against militants, care would be taken to ensure that the innocent did not suffer.

DAY CURFEW:

To this end day curfew in the old city here was lifted. 100 innocent youth were released and security forces advised to "hit the target" meaning that innocent people should not be fired at during or after an encounter with the militants.

But in less than two weeks indefinite curfew was reimposed in the old city last week as militants stepped up their attacks on the security forces inflicting heavy casualties. However this time the Army which conducted the searches was comparatively less high handed.

The security forces exercised restraint on two or three other occasions as well. But these are seen by the people as exceptions rather than the rule.

The intriguing incident of the detention of the journalist Mr. Yusuf Jameel occurred a week after Mr. Saxena took over. Though Mr. Jameel was later released, the people here do not believe that the governor was really ignorant about his whereabouts.

While Mr. Jameel was recounting his ordeal to newsmen after his release on June 3, security forces the CRPF to be exact, allegedly killed 22-year old Gulzar Ahmad and 6-year old Sajjad inside their houses at Rainawari in the downtown area here. Another person who had been shot in similar circumstances died in hospital the next day.

CHILD KILLED:

Four days later, the CRPF after an attack by militants entered a house at Noor Bagh here and allegedly fired at five members of a family. One of them two-years old Saqib Bashir, later died in the hospital. The next day, local newspaper carried photographs of the child with the caption: "Was he a terrorist?"

These happenings led a large number of families, living in houses in the trouble zone as like Nala Mar Road, to shift to safer places. But the security forces broke in and occupied some of their houses.

Reports of alleged excesses have also come in from the border areas of the valley. People of the border district of Kupwara gave Mr. Saxena a first-hand account of the excesses perpetrated on them, when he visited the place on Saturday.

Ten senior IAS officers, including the additional chief secretary and commissioners like Mr. Ashok Jaitley, Ms. Sushma Chowdhury, Sheikh

Ghulam Rasool and Mr. Moti Lal Koul, who belong to a group different from the pro Jagmohan lobby, made their sense of outrage over these "excesses" known to the new governor in a letter 10 days ago.

Observers here say that the new governor may be different from his predecessor, but he still depends upon the same officers, particularly in the police.



The Nation, Lahore.

June 27, 1990.

KASHMIR : THE SECOND PHASE?

by B. Bedi

Indian writers, says B.A. JEDDY, are portraying the Kashmir freedom-fighters as narco-terrorists' and fundamentalists, both terms calculated to arouse antipathy in US and Britain

With the recall of Governor Jagmohan ends the first phase of India's barren and bankrupt policy of using brute force to crush the Kashmir freedom movement. Predictably it ended in utter failure. Jagmohan was preceded by his frightful reputation for harshness acquired during an earlier spell. A firm believer in the persuasive powers of the bludge, the bayonet and the bullet, he had been given the nickname of the 'butcher.' He came full of confidence that he would be able to crush the Kashmir revolt. And Kashmir blew up in his face.

His reaction was to draw an iron band of army and police round the state, flood it with paramilitary battalions, who were given a free hand to kill, loot and rape in order to terrorise the people into submission. He also banned all journalists and representatives of Amnesty International and Human Rights groups so that not a word of these atrocities would leak out.

But some courageous reporters, both Indian and foreign, did manage to occasionally peep through this Indian version of the iron curtain and publish eye-witness accounts of the sadism and savagery they saw.

Sunil Sethi, writing in his Times of India column of April 8, '90, quotes a journalist, who, because of fear, requested anonymity: 'On February 14, I was covering a peaceful women's march to the UN observers' office. Suddenly I saw the CPRF attack an innocent bystander. He was a young boy being brutally beaten by three (police) men, one hitting his head, another throttling him with his scarf and a third punching him. His crime? He was young. According to verbal instruction the CPRF had apparently received, they were to maim or kill all Kashmiris between the ages of fourteen and forty so that those that are left are too broken-spirited to revolt.'

As Barbara Crossette of the New York Times reports on 15 June, under these orders sometimes even boys of six or seven were killed.

Another youth, the son of a retired college professor, was standing outside his gate when the CPRF noticed the letters JKLF on the rough trunk of a chenar tree beside his gate pillar. They sadistically decided to have some fun before killing the boy. They ordered him to lick the letters off. When his tongue was lacerated and bleeding and the letters were still there, they jumped on him, knocked him down and began to kick and stamp on him with their hob-nailed boots. His old father heard the commotion and rushed out. He fell on the broken and unconscious body of his son, crying and shouting for them to stop. But he himself was almost killed before the blood-crazeds policemen noticed his gray head and controlled their bloodlust.

The most revolting report is that of Derek Brown of the Guardian. He visited two badly-wounded and gangraped women in a hospital in Anantnag and got the revolting details from their own mouths. One was an eighteen-year-old bride named Mubina, whom her bridegroom, Rashid, was taking home in a mini-bus after the marriage ceremony. The other was her middle-aged aunt who was acting as her chaperon and who was six months pregnant. Although there was no curfew in the area at that time, the BSF (Border Security Force) opened fire on the vehicle without any warning. After it was riddled by bullets, some of them opened the door and climbed in. They found that, while many of its passengers were dead, the bridegroom and the two women, though wounded, were still alive. They were dragged out, badly bleeding from their wounds, and ignoring the women's scream for mercy, stripped and gang-raped until they became unconscious. Before leaving the BSF men took all the jewellery off the bride and the garland of currency notes which, according to Kashmiri custom, friends and relatives had hung round the bridegroom's neck during the ceremony.

These three incidents are but the tip of the iceberg. Thousands of others, more savage and inhuman, went unreported. However, they had exactly the opposite effect. They hardened the determination of the Kashmiris to win their freedom at any price. It is estimated that when Jagmohan took over, about 60-70 per cent of the population of the Valley were openly advocating freedom. By the end of his tenure, 99.9 per cent of them ardently desired to be rid of India's tyranny.

The assassination of the late Mir Waiz Maulvi Mohammad Farooq, on the morning of the 20th and the horrendous massacre, reminiscent of the 191 Jallianwalla Bagh mass-killing, ended Jagmohan's bloody rule.

He has been replaced by Girish Saxena, basically a police officer and the former head of the Indian intelligence agency, RAW. With this change commences the second phase of India's Kashmir policy.



The Times of India News Services
June 30, 1990.

ULTRAS SPREAD NET TO JAMMU, LADAKH

by Arun Joshi

KASHMIRI: militants are making a determined bid to extend their activities to the Jammu and Ladakh regions in an effort to put more pressure on the security forces.

The recent incidents of bomb blasts, that have taken place in the parts of these two regions, are a clear indication that the militants want to extend their reach beyond the confines of the valley. Government buildings and places of worship of a particular community have been the special target of the subversives.

Attempting to disturb the situation in these regions, the militants will not only be increasing pressure on the security forces in the Kashmir valley but also be giving the impression to the outside world that people of the entire state are with their movement aimed at "securing the right to self-determination" for all the people of the state.

In the Jammu region, the Kashmiri subversives have been able to enroll in their ranks some misguided youth from the two border districts of Rajouri and Poonch. Support to them has also come from the people of Doda district. Doda district, which adjoins the valley, has witnessed a series of blasts and incidents of arson.

It was because of the intensified cry for "freedom" particularly from Bhandarwah and Kishtwar towns that they have been brought under curfew on several occasions during the past few months. Bhandarwah was under a week-long spell of curfew after the violent incidents on April 13 last in which three persons were killed and over a dozen injured.

MANY BLASTS:

The town is again under partial curfew for the past two weeks following a blast in a place of worship in which two persons were seriously injured on the night of June 17.

There have been frequent blasts in Kishtwar, Doda and Banihal towns. There have also been incidents of government buildings being set on fire. Though the administration believes that the situation is under control, it does not wish to make any claim that terrorism will be wiped out once and for all. A number of persons have been arrested, some of them being detained under the Public Safety Act. But these measures have had little effect on the overall situation.

Rajouri and Poonch have become the gateway for the militants to cross over to Pakistan-occupied Kashmir and return from there. Besides, a number

of youth of Thanna Mandi in Rajouri and Mendhar and Surankot in Poonch have been enrolled as members of various militant organisations and prepared for receiving arms training and in acts of subversion. Each youth was promised Rs.20,000 for undergoing the training. It is learnt Even some National Conference activists, prominent among them being Ayub Shabnam of Surankot, were involved in motivating the would-be terrorists. The security forces have seized a large quantity of arms and ammunition during raids at these places.

MOUNTAIN PASSES:

As the snow melts in the high passes, the two districts may witness more militant activity. To this end, reinforcements of the security forces have been sent to the area but that has not completely eliminated the movement of terrorists along border. In fact, the terrain and topography of the mountains and the ravines cannot ensure full plugging of the line of actual control. However, the Army and the Border Security Force have set up pickets near the major passes and taken into custody to suspected guides, known in local parlance as rahkars.

Leh, which had witnessed violence lasting nearly four months last year when the Ladakh Buddhist Association (LBA) had launched an agitation for grant of Union territory status for the region, had not witnessed any bomb blasts till recently.

But after curfew was imposed in the town early this month following a clash between the police and the LBA activists whose leader, Mr. Sonam Wangchuk, was arrested in connection with an alleged assault on former minister, Leh too experienced a series of blasts.

These were believed to be acts of the Pakistan-trained Kashmiri terrorists who have spread their network to Ladakh as well. Kargil too has witnessed raising of secessionist slogans, indicating that the terrorists in Kashmir are trying to disrupt the peace all over the state to further their designs.



The Telegraph, Calcutta.
July 1, 1990.

by Yousuf Jameel

"More than 170 families were rendered homeless in Odina and Vattamagam villages, about 25 km west of Srinagar, where CRPF personnel ran amuck on Sunday, torching houses, cattle-sheds and grain stores."

"Three villagers were gunned down and two others thrown into blazing houses; one was roasted alive but the other escaped with third degree burns on his right arm."

"The security forces used molotov-cocktails in their orgy of arson. the villagers told this correspondent when he visited the two villages today. He found the terror-stricken villagers scavenging among the still-smouldering houses for whatever few belongings they could recover."

"Under the Disturbed Areas Act promulgated by the Governor, Mr. G.K. Saxena, last week, the security forces have been given the authority to shoot any person even on suspicion of breach of peace. They also have been authorised to destroy houses which they feel may be militant hide-outs or arms dumps."



The Times of India News Service.

July 5, 1990.

KASHMIR DECLARED DISTURBED AREA

The governor, Mr Girish Saxena, today promulgated the Jammu and Kashmir Disturbed Areas Act, 1990, to deal with the increased activities of the separatist militants in the state.

(Agencies quoting top official sources said that soon after the arrival of the Union home minister, Mufti Mohammad Sayeed, in Srinagar on a two-day visit this morning, the governor took up the issue with him. The Mufti after getting clearance from the Prime Minister, notified the governor who signed the Act which was already prepared by the state government.

(In pursuance of the above Act, the government, has by a notification declared the following areas as disturbed areas: Districts Anantnag, Baramulla, Badgam, Kupwara, Pulwama and Srinagar and areas falling within 20 km of the Line of Actual Control (LAC) in the districts of Rajouri and Poonch).

The Act envisages that any magistrate or any officer not below the rank of sub-inspector and head constable in case of armed police can order fire on any person in indulging in acts of arson or terrorist activities. If is for the first time that such an Act has been promulgated.

The promulgation of the Act has come at a time when the militants have stepped up their activities throughout the Valley and some of the districts in Jammu division.

The Act authorises the state government to declare the whole or any part of any district of Jammu and Kashmir as a disturbed area by a notification in the official gazette.

SHOOT TO KILL:

In a disturbed area, the A authorises any magistrate or any police officer

not below the rank of sub-inspector or head constable, in case of the armed branch of the police, after giving due warning to fire upon or use force even to the extent of causing death against the person who is indulging in any act which may result in serious breach of public order or his acting in contravention of any law or order for the time being in force, prohibiting the assembly of five or more persons or is carrying weapons or fire arms, ammunition or explosives substances.

The Act also authorises any magistrate or police officer now below the rank of a sub-inspector to destroy any arms dump or fortified position of a shelter from which are likely to be made or any structure which is used as a training camp for armed volunteers or utilised as a hideout by armed gangs or absconders wanted for any offence.

The BJP and the Shiv Sena were the protagonists of the demand for bringing the entire Kashmir Valley and the three districts of Jammu region—Doda, Rajouri and Poonch—under the purview of the Disturbed Areas Act. In the Act, promulgated today, Doda has been excluded.

Meanwhile, the Union home minister, Mufti Mohammed Sayeed, who arrived here this morning on a two-day visit, discussed the political as well as law and order situation with top officials. The meeting, which began at 5 p.m., was going on at the time of reporting. The Mufti had a separate meeting with the governor, Mr Saxena.

SRINAGAR:

At least one person was killed in cross-fire between militants and the CRPF at Pattan 30 km from here, while several women were injured when security forces lobbed teargas shells and resorted to lathicharge to disperse a group of demonstrators here today.

Security forces found one Radha Krishen, said to be an employee of the municipality, with his throat cut. He was removed to military hospital, where he was reported to be in a critical condition. He had been kidnapped by suspected militants yesterday, officials said.

Militants fired at jawans of the border Security Force (BSF) at Wail Ganderbal, about 22 km from here, early this morning. The jawans were doing physical exercise outside their camp, when militants launched the attack. However, nobody was injured, official spokesman confirmed that one person had been killed in cross-fire at Pattan. However, his identity could not be immediately ascertained.

(According to an agency report, one CRPF jawan was killed and four injured when Pakistan-trained terrorists opened fire on a CRPF patrol in north Kashmir).

There was a bomb blast at Jawahar Nagar here in which a wall of the DAV school was partially damaged. The school has been closed.

by the CRPF for several months now. It is the second explosion there in one month.

Over 100 women blocked traffic on the airport road here this morning when security forces arrested a youth from Baghat Barzalla. Security forces resorted to lathicharge and teargassing to disperse these women, resulting in injuries to 14 of them, reports said.

BAN ON VEHICLES:

Meanwhile, light vehicular traffic came to a grinding halt all over the Valley today as the ban imposed on their movement by militants came into force. Only two- and three-wheelers as also mini-buses have been exempted from the ban announced by "AL-UMAR Mujahideen" and the "Jammu and Kashmir Students' Liberation Front."

The ban on these vehicles came in view of the arrests made by commandos known as "initiative group" who move about in civil clothes and mostly use Maruti Gypsies.



The Financial Times London
July 10, 1990.

by K. K. Sharma

"After declaring almost the entire Kashmir Valley a "disturbed area" last week—and thereby giving junior officers powers to order firing on suspected militants and to demolish buildings thought to be hide-outs—the government has also given more powers to the Indian army in the state."

"This makes it clear that the present governor plans to continue to use the unpopular policy initiated by Mr. Jagmohan who was removed as governor last May when security forces killed scores of mourners taking the body of the assassinated head-priest of Kashmir for burial."

"Mr. Jagmohan dealt with the insurgency in Kashmir by ordering long spells of curfew in Srinagar and other towns, as well as by making brutal house-to-house searches when ever the militants attacked security forces."

"The new powers given to security forces make it clear that the repressive policy is to continue."



Muslim, Islamabad.
July 18, 1990

KASHMIR IS BLEEDING

By Wing. Cdr. (Retd) G.M.Khan

It is too costly? Yes, it may appear so, but "We shall pay the price, whatever it may be", said a middle aged Kashmiri who had just arrived from Srinagar. Risking his life, he crossed all obstacles and has come out to tell the world, what is actually going on in the Valley. He reports that the Indian troops have lost all their balance of mind. It is incorrect to call them Security Forces actually it is the Indian army which is being used to crush the innocent and peace-loving people of Occupied Kashmir. Even their trucks are mud-plastered to hide the number and identity of the army unit it belongs to.

Quoting the figures with a high degree of reliability, he said that over ten thousand people have so far been martyred, about twenty three thousand are rotting in jails, over twenty thousand have been seriously injured and crippled, three thousand and five hundred teenage girls have been taken away from the processions of Dukhtaran-e-Kashmir. Not satisfied with all this they have now called advisers from Israel who are camping near Chasma Shahi, in the neighbour-hood of Nishat Bagh.

He said that the dead are not being allowed to be picked up for burial, as they reopen fire on those who try to take them away. Indian troops collect them in the trucks and burn them en-masse. Some they throw in the River Jhelum. This they do not ensure that there is no record left of the dead in the present struggle. Some details of harassment, torture and inhuman behaviour of Indian troops are:

(a) Indian troops burst into the houses at any time of the day or night, ostensibly in pursuit of "Mujahideen". They enter the houses with guns pointing three abreast, two soldiers covering the flanks on either side and one in the centre advancing ahead. They come in groups of nine and twelve. During the search they take away most of the food items like rice, sugar, dried vegetables, oil, salt, charcoal and fire wood. Some they burn in the house itself.

(b) During house searches, Indian troops look particularly for the Holy Quran which is available in every house. They throw it on the ground and ask the inmates to trample on it. People who refuse to do so are beaten up severely. Then ask to-which cannot be put in writing as it would be blasphemy. Since the people refuse to desecrate the Quran, they are shot dead or injured.

(c) During searches, they ask the men to stand on one side and the women and girls on the other. After surveying the house thoroughly they tie the men with ropes and rape the girls in groups in front of their fathers, brothers or husbands. The cries of agony of frightened children and women are heard in the neighbour-hood.

(d) Of late they have started breaking the bones of young men. Any young man, a teen ager walking peacefully on the road is caught by two persons in civil clothes. They are Indian Army Commandos who simultaneously catch his arms and break his wrist bones. The unfortunate person thus caught, is left in agony on the street. This operation does not take more than a couple of minutes. Any person who tries to run away is shout at.

(e) Women who come out in processions violating the curfew are beaten and fired upon. The young and teen age girls in the procession are taken away in trucks. So far 3500 girls have been picked up and their whereabouts are not known.

(i) Hindus are sent to Occupied Kashmir to impersonate as Muslims. The reporters says that once he was offering prayers in the mosque when he observed an unknown person making some strange movements which disclosed his ignorance about Namaz. He became suspicious and kept an eye on him. His sleeve was unbuttoned and he read OM PRAKASH written on his arm.

(g) During the month of Ramzan, Indian troops used to get hold of the elderly men and women and asked them to lick the dirty water of the drains.

such are the methods of savagery of Indian troops to demoralise and break the will of Kashmiris. But in spite of all these agonising methods of torture and humiliation, the valley is resounding with the voice i.e., Azadi, Azadi. Today Kashmir is bleeding. Nobody is there to take a video film or photograph of the Indian atrocities and show it to yhe world. Today Kashmir may appear friendless, but Kashmir is a part of the Muslim Ummah which comes to over one billion people i.e., one fifth of the humanity. the Indians may succeed in keeping the Muslim Ummah in darkness for some time, but they can not do it forever. Once the Muslim Ummah awakens it would be difficult for the Indian leadership to explain their heinous crimes against the Kashmiris. The American information satellites are constantly spinning in the space around the world. Who knows the CNN may soon start showing to the American people on television the latest developments and Indian inhuman activities in Srinagar.

After all the people of Indian Occupied Kashmir are also human beings.



Far Eastern Economic Review, Honkong.
July 19, 1990.

by Rita Manchanda

“the very editors who last years cried foul at the proposed Kashmir press bill, today readily acquiesce in official disinformation on Kashmir. The media has readily fallen into line—for Kashmir is at war with the rest of India. The rousing cry of country and flag has been raised.”

"Quite literally, the national press has turned its back on what should have been the story: Kashmir at war. In February, most reporters from the national press in Srinagar packed their bags and left for the more salubrious plains of Jammu, the State's winter capital."

"In Kashmir the term 'crossfire' has become the metaphor for indiscriminate shooting at civilians by the security forces. In a so-called crossfire on 29 March, a pregnant woman, her nine-year-old son and the driver of their cycle rickshaw were among 11 passers by killed when security forces opened fire after a militant threw a grenade at them and escaped. The national media, however, glibly related the governments description of the mother, son and driver as subversives. Such fatalities in fake encounters have become all too common."

"In the present climate of patriotic jingoism, where propaganda has taken the place of news, an individual who dares question whether all militants are trained by Pakistan invites the accusation of being anti-national or a foreign agent."

"The 21 January Gowkadal massacre of men, women and children who were peacefully protesting against the first wave of excesses in Kashmir, was described by *India Today* as 'clashes in which security men killed violent pro-Pakistani demonstrators'—a direct contradiction of eye-witness-based reports broadcast by the BBC and confirmed by civil liberties groups. India's mainstream media has failed to appreciate the complexities of the situation in Kashmir."

"The national media virtually ignored the release of a report entitled 'India's Kashmir War' by the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, a civil-rights group. It was only S. Mulgaonkar, the long-retired editor of the Indian Express, who cut through the jingoism to focus on the excesses of the security forces. Kashmir, Mulgaonkar argued, was not simply a law-and-order problem, it was also a question of winning back the hearts and minds of a people who were providing the secessionist militants with a mass base of near total alienation."



KASHMIR REPORT, NEW DELHI,

July 19, 1990.

SECURITY FORCES MOLEST WOMEN

by A Staff Reporter

WOMEN in the Kashmir valley are increasingly becoming victims of security forces in the state. This is just one of the alarming findings of a four-member team sent by the committee for initiative on Kashmir to the valley.

Comprising Ms Saqina Hasan, former principal of Nawakadal Women's College in Srinagar, Ms Premila Lewis, journalist, Ms Nandita Haksar, Supreme Court lawyer, and Ms Suhasini Mulay, filmmaker, the team was in the valley for eight days (June 8-15) and spoke to a wide cross-section of people. The team prepared a report entitled "Kashmir Imprisoned" after visiting four districts, Srinagar, Palwama, Baramulla and Kupwara.

Speaking about sexual harassment of women in the valley Ms Mulay told reporters today, "the manner in which women were being assaulted suggests that these attacks are premeditated". According to her "before February it was the male member of the family who accompanied security forces while a house search was conducted. But now it is the women who are forced to stay in the house and then assaulted". "All the women we spoke to had either been sexually assaulted or raped", she added.

The report cites the instance of 15-year-old Sabah whose hair was pulled by five army men who entered her house. One of them put a gun in her mouth and asked where the shots were being fired. Another girl, Sameena was raped by three army men, the report states. Ayesha (29) was not raped, but three army men who entered her house did molest her while her husband watched helplessly.

The report also takes note of the total breakdown of the administrative machinery in the state. It says, "The valley is virtually under army rule and the civil administration seems to be helpless in checking the lawlessness of the security forces which have resulted in untold human suffering and growing alienation of the people there".

CONCERN FELT:

The report expresses concern over the fact that the local police is looked upon with suspicion and considered sympathisers of militants. Their powers have effectively been subverted by the army and the CRPF, the report notes.

About the powers given to security forces to search, seize and arrest people the report states: "These powers have been given under a number of notifications that remain secret. Senior bureaucrats, lawyers, judges and journalists when questioned about the notification said that they had not seen it", said Ms Mulay. She asserted "Promulgating the Disturbed Areas Act merely legitimizes what has already been going on in valley".



The Time. New York.
July 23, 1990.

BLIND REVENGE IN KASHMIR

by Edward W Desmond

In a cluster of villages 25 km west of Srinagar a pall of smoke hung over the ruins of dozens of houses, cattle sheds and granaries. A few men poked at the rubble as they looked for their charred belongings, but most of the

villagers were still glassy eyed with shock. On the steps of a gutted house, kashmiri woman wailed repeatedly, "I have lost my father. I have lost my house. What am I going to do?"

The devastated villagers of Odina and Vattamagam knew they were in trouble last week when they heard the sound of automatic-weapon fire nearby. A busload of members of the Central Reserve Police Force, one of the paramilitary organisations that New Delhi has deployed to combat a Kashmiri secessionist movement, had been ambushed by guerillas; six policemen had been killed. A short time later, the CRPF arrived at the settlements to take blind revenge against the kashmiris who were closest at hand. Most of the villagers ran for their lives, but at least four were caught and killed. Then the CRPF set fire to practically every building in the area, destroying the homes of 170 families.

In the unpredictable theatre of guerilla warfare, all hands seem to turn against civilians, no matter how disciplined and well-trained the government forces may be. But in Kashmir there is a growing body of evidence that New Delhi has not disciplined its security forces to ensure that they act within the law. The pattern has become so egregious that in May 10, senior officers of the Indian civil service stationed in Kashmir wrote a letter to the governor expressing "anguish" over the state of affairs, especially the "breakdown of the command and control structure of the law and order machinery".

The issue is arousing international attention as well. In an effort to win support for Kashmiri secessionists. Pakistan is highlighting stories of massacres, rapes and other atrocities allegedly committed by the Indians. When Robert Gates, U.S. deputy national security adviser, rushed to Islamabad and New Delhi in May to help ease tensions, he expressed concern about the excessive use of force in Kashmir.

New Delhi's response has been to deny many of the allegations and to remind critics that its security forces are operating under very difficult conditions. Several hundred guerillas, all well-armed, stage almost daily ambushes that have claimed the lives of 116 members of the security forces. Girish Saxena, the newly-appointed governor of Jammu and Kashmir, has promised to ensure better discipline among the security forces. At the same time, however he has granted them sweeping new powers, providing a legal basis for actions that were already being exercised unofficially. Those powers include the right to arrest and search without warrant and the right to use lethal force and to destroy property to maintain order.

Nonetheless, Saxena maintains that he is determined to ensure "balance and propriety" in security operations in Kashmir. It will not be an easy task.- Among the most widely reported abuses are instances in which panicky security forces have opened fire on unarmed protesters. Says Dr. Abdul Guru, Chairman of the surgical division at the Sher-e-Kashmir Institute of Medical Sciences in Srinagar. "They have the option to shoot in

the air, make a lathi [bamboo club] charge, use tear gas or even shoot low. But straightaway, they resort to lethal shooting. "In the worst case, at least 51 people were killed in May when police shot at the funeral procession of Mirwaiz Mohammad Farooq, a revered cleric who had himself been assassinated.

Security forces have repeatedly gone on murderous rampages in response to rebel attacks on their units - and have killed or wounded dozens of innocent by-standers in the process. Last month snipers fired on a CRPF patrol in downtown Srinagar and may have wounded two men. Ten minutes later, the CRPF began kicking down doors in neighboring houses. Bashir Ahmed Sofi, 32, was sitting in his third-storey flat with his wife, two small children and two nieces when five policemen burst into the apartment and ordered them downstairs, hitting them with rifle butts as they went. As Sofi and his family stepped into the courtyard, a CRPF man opened fire. Sofi and his wife were wounded; their two-year-old son was killed.

There are also accusations of rape by security men in the Kashmir valley, though such charges are often difficult to prove. In one case that government officials privately acknowledge is under investigation, a unit of the Indian Border Security Force two months ago fired on a wedding party that was riding in a bus. According to police and medical reports, members of the unit killed a friend of the groom and then gang-raped the bride and her companion.

Alongside the abuses in the field is a widespread breakdown of the legal system. Local courts are barely functioning. There have not yet been any trials or convictions of alleged-terrorists, despite the fact that some known members of violent groups have been in custody for more than a year. Local attorneys claim that security forces routinely evade or ignore court orders to provide information on people who have disappeared. Says Ghulam Nabi Hagroo, a Srinagar lawyer. "On paper we have a constitution, but it is the state that breaks it."

In hundreds and perhaps thousands of cases, suspects have been detained without legally required notification of arrest or access to due process - sometimes for months. In a case before the Srinagar High Court last week, lawyers sought the release of Syed Mohammad Iqbal, a local businessman arrested in late April. The news of his detention was broadcast at that time on state-owned radio. His lawyers, even though they were armed with court orders, were unable to get official acknowledgement from police that Iqbal was in custody. Nearly a month later, the government produced a detention order in court and claimed that Iqbal had been arrested only four days earlier. His case is still pending.

Says Muzaffar Baig, a senior advocate who assists detainees in Srinagar. "The idea is to hold Prisoners in custody and torture them until they become informers. But if a detainee is killed in the process, [the authorities] don't have to worry about a legal record of his having been with the police." According to release detainees, torture is commonplace in the interrogation

centres, as the injuries of many released detainees also testify. At least four prisoners are known to have died in custody. In two instances, authorities have refused to hand over the corpses to families.

Governor Saxena insists that he is determined to make "an earnest effort to ensure that our fight is not against the people." He claims that several members of the security forces are under investigation and will face charges. So far, however, New Delhi does not plan to make public the results of those proceedings - an ambiguous signal to alienated Kashmiris and to the security forces. Saxena says he is limiting further abuse of power, with stricter orders governing the use of force and greater involvement of senior officers in anti-guerilla operations. To ease criticism of its record in Kashmir and elsewhere, New Delhi has tentatively agreed to permit Amnesty International representatives to visit India, though no date has been set and the move is encountering resistance within the government.

What is clear is that India must act quickly to restore respect for law-and-order if it ever hopes to recover the loyalty of alienated Kashmiris. Says one of the senior civil servants who signed the protest letter to Governor Saxena. "I don't think India can surrender the basic principles of human rights in any situation. That is playing the militants' game."



Nation, Lahore.
July 25, 1990.

KASHMIR: AN ANALYTICAL APPRECIATION

Dr. Ashraf K. Kayani

The perceived solutions to the Kashmir problem are either militarisation or democratic, that is, war or plebiscite. War between India and Pakistan may result in so-called victory for either of the two countries or in a ceasefire without resolution on a basis dictated by the superpowers or the UNO. However, war irrespective of the outcome does not guarantee an end to the problem of Kashmir. In case of India's victory, once more a lid would be put on the problem for some time. It cannot be everlasting as evident from the last 43 years. In the event that Pakistan has an upper hand in the war, Kashmir and Pakistan in haste may form a union like an inconveniently married couple whose marriage always teeters on the rocks. On the contrary, war for the subcontinent does guarantee miseries, economic disasters and loss of human lives, to say the least. In fact, war will bring no victory to anyone but miseries to all parties involved.

Alternately, the other choice is a democratic approach. On the surface of it, solution to Kashmir's problem is simple in terms of a plebiscite. However, when one thinks of the parties involved in the problem and the mechanism of holding a plebiscite, it is not as simple as it appears. First, India holding a plebiscite under the current circumstances is not more than a fantasy. Second, if for arguments sake a plebiscite is held, the question is

what should be the contents of it. Victory for Pakistan is clear if Kashmiris have to choose between India and Pakistan. This clear verdict will not be politically acceptable to India. The other option left is to ask Kashmiris to choose either between union with India or Pakistan or go for complete independence. Even if the Kashmiris reject India completely under this option, presumably they will be divided on the choice between union with Pakistan and complete independence. This makes a plebiscite a complex issue.

Pakistan's official stand against an independent Kashmir also calls for fair assessment. Emphatic language used by the leadership is already creating doubts in the minds of Kashmiris, particularly from the valley. Despite the realisation that pressures on India for a plebiscite may be the best resource available to Pakistan, the Kashmiris question the intent behind such claims. To them Pakistan is rendering only moral and political support to Kashmiris on one hand, on the other it takes for granted that Kashmir would become part of it.

The liberation leaders wonder as to the ethics of such claims. To them, if moral and political support alone qualifies Pakistan to include Kashmir within its confederation, what about Palestinians who are morally and politically supported by a hundred and one countries? Those who are fighting for the cause do not appear to be impressed by Pakistan's role in the affair. In fact, such a stand is promoting feelings for complete independence.

I am not advocating an independent Kashmir. I am of the opinion that we support the cause of Kashmiris whole-heartedly because it is just and right. Our all-out support should be on a selfless basis. We should be perfectly happy if liberated Kashmir remains independent or join Pakistan. On the contrary, innocent Pakistanis believing in the statements of our leadership, though honest and well intentioned they may be, might be convinced of liberated Kashmir becoming part of Pakistan automatically. They would be hurt if Kashmiris go for complete independence. In that case, good relations between Pakistan and Kashmir would be jeopardised.

Leaders of the Kashmiri Liberation movements have also to think twice before giving statement on the future status of Kashmir. To choose between Pakistan and independence is going to divide the people at the most about evenly. If would be results go 50.1% either way, it will not be equivalent to winning an election. Rather, it must disrupt internal order for a long time.

On future status, they must do some homework on likely issues such as leadership, variations in language and culture, economy, defence etc. These issues would create more disturbances than internal harmony if rushed to complete independence. At present, Kashmiri leaders might best focus on the basic objective of the struggle rather than publicise their loose thoughts prematurely.

In the light of the present discussion, three question basic to the solution of the problem arise: under what conditions India holds a plebiscite; in case of liberation, should Kashmir join Pakistan or be independent and whoshould act as a catalyſt in India, Pakistan and Kashmir so that a plebiscite is held and an amicable decsion on future status is reached?

India would hold plebiscite only when pressurized externally as well as internally. Effective international pressures can come when the public in their respective countries is moved in respect to human rights violations, undemocratic practices to the extent of atrocities and above all the legitimacy of the demands, of the people of Kashmir. Also, internally these concerns plus an awareness of heavy econmic and human costs of keeping Kashmir, would convince the people of India of the need to give up Kashmir. All of these facilitate conditions for plebicite without putting its future at stake.

The futurre of liberated Kashmir has to be decided by Kashmiris alone. However, they must avoid a hasty decision based on the emotions.. Their leaderrship must allow a reasonable period of time for subsiding emotions and evolving constructive thinking. It will facilitate fair evolution of the pros and cons of joining Pakistan and/or becoming independent. For the provisional time, formula on a special status for Kashmir can be worked out with Pakistan.

To achieve the above objectives, the major forces can come from internal as well as international intelligentsia and the Press. People and, as a matter of fact, leaders have to be educated on rational, moral and democratic on forum of scientists, philosophers, acdemicians and jurists backed by the Press is the need of the day. A special responsibility lies on intelligentsia in the Press in India and Pakistan to rise to the occasion and play their rrole of educating the masses about the problem. Was it not this community who contributed to making of Vietnam war as presidential election issue in 1968 in the USA? Failing to do that will question our own integrity and wisdom. It will make war a real possibility and irrespective of its outcome, people of the subcontinent will suffer miserably for many decades to come. On the contrary, in our own countries we would be setting an example to be followed in the future. It will also guarantee a better future for our economically ill people and facilitate better ties between the parties in conflict. After all, the hero of saving humanity in the Cuban missile prices is neither Kennedy nor Khurshchev but remains Bertrand Russel.



The Star, Port Louls.
July 29, 1990.

"The capital of Kashmir Switzerland', long ago the paradise of tourists, has the look of an occupied town which inhabitants have all escaped. Not a civil on the street, hundreds of the souvenir shops and others had the blinds closed."

"Immediately, around hundred soldiers buckle the road, facing the houses, finger on the trigger of their AK-47 gun, while the dead body wrapped in a white shroud is taken out. The father approaches and lifts the white sheet, discovering the face mutilated by bullets and the chest re-sewn roughly. He seizes by the arm the western journalist present. Look what they have done to my son. Take a photo, please take a photo, the world must know!. A man approaches, eyes full tears. 'Are you also from the family?. We are all his brothers, his friends, his uncles, his cousins. He has given his life for our cause."

"Now the street is dark with people. Ladies start weeping, men raise their fist, shouting their anger: the corpse is placed in a wooden coffin covered with the green Islamic flag and, taken from one street to the other like a terrible exhibit. A lady Kashmiri shouts at the Indian soldiers: For forty-three years you have been promising Kashmir; you have been colonizing for forty-three years with your damned radio-television propaganda. Get lost, leave Kashmir."



The India Today, Delhi.
July 31, 1990.

KASHMIR: "SHADOWS OF DEATH"

by Harinder Baweja

Everywhere there's pain. There's darkness everywhere. The Valley had lost its magic, its mystique. It stretches like a pale shadow of its familiar verdant and joyful self. Summertime was, when its people welcomed droves of tourists and sent truckfuls of fruit to distant destinations. This summer, too, they're busy: counting the dead. They display an eerie defiance. A people learning to live with death.

Lal Chowk is Srinagar's nerve-centre. Once, in summer, hundreds of tourists flocked here. Today Lal Chowk presents the silence of the graveyard. The shops rarely open. They smell musty. Piles of embroidered phirans and shawls lie unsold. Crates of cherries and dry fruit beckon, but there are no buyers. There are no tourists and the Kashmiri's overriding concern today is not to sell almonds, but to buy vegetables.

Abdul Hamid, a student, ate wild grass and it only made him more determined: things can't get worse. Tortured bodies are recovered routinely from street corners: the bleeding are found lying by the roadside. There are daily gunbattles. Militant ambushed. Retaliatory police raids. Processions that inevitably run into edgy policemen. The odd protestor left behind in the debris of the day's clash. But people learn to cope. Mir Ahmed, 67, seldom ventures out. When he does, he makes it a point to keep a nearly folded piece of

paper bearing his name and address in his pocket. Why die nameless?

With the markets closed, the mosques have become 'departmental stores'. There is food for the needy, medicines for the injured and neatly stacked piles of shrouds to bury the dead. Death, it seems, inspires the living. The 'local attraction' the 'tourist spot' - if it may so be called - is not the Dal Lake, but the Idgah. It's to the martyrs' section of this sprawling graveyard, where several top militants lie buried, that the parents come, dragging their children. The women beat their breasts, the men huddle together. "Tauba, Allah, yeh kaisa Hindustan hai," (Oh, God! what kind of India is this!) they chorus. An old man digging a grave looks up and mutters: "Two to four bodies are brought here everyday."

Some of these are of the 'warriors', some of innocent bystanders. Ashfaq Ahmed, a Kashmir Liberation Federation 'area commander', rests here as does 18-month-old Saqib Ahmed Bashir who fell to CRPF bullets. Fear, anguish, insecurity bind the mourners. "Was Saqib Ahmed a terrorist?" everyone asks.

The graveyard is more than a meeting point. It is the altar at which new warriors are initiated. Defiant mothers point to the graves and ask their children: "What do we want?" -- "Azadi," [Liberation] the toddlers chorus. The men volunteer to dig the graves, and many want to book places in advance. The closer one's grave to Ashfaq and Saqib, the better.

The ice-cream and fruit vendors do more business at the Idgah than at the Lake, now a desolate pond, the 600-odd houseboats displaying 'vacant' signs and the shikaras bobbing aimlessly. And the rows of hotels facing the lake are paramilitary 'forces' fortresses, sand bags lining the window sills and balconies. The demise of tourism, a Rs 600-crore-a-year industry, has been followed by the destruction of the Rs 18 crore apple business. Handicrafts and carpets are finished as well.

The deathly silence enshrouding Srinagar is broken occasionally by staccato gunfire, or an Indian Airlines jet. Flights come in nearly empty, bringing bureaucrats and policemen. The airport resembles a military base. The taxi drivers are out of business. Ashraf Ahmed, a young driver, came into the airport at 4 in the morning. The first flight landed at 9.50 a.m., but brought no business. "Most of them are quickly huddled into convoys and driven away," he says. Finally at 3.15 p.m. he has a passenger. A Kashmiri Pandit, who has come to wind up his carpet business. "Our buyers have taken us off their computer lists," he says.

Most hotels have been requisitioned by the Government to house the forces and employees brought in with the durbar move. The streets are deserted. The signboards tell a story. Travel Corporation of..., State Bank of...-the amputation of 'India' is endless. The pathway opposite Islamia College is lined with slippers and shoes. Mementos of may 21, the day the CRPF opened fire on the mourners accompanying Maulvi Farooq's body, killings 53. Today the footwear of the fleeing mourners makes for a pilgrimage spot.

Paradoxically, the misery translates not into a yearning for peace and conciliation, but into reinforced hatred of the State. The women bitterly complain about the CRPF ransacking their homes. Even despoiling their food stocks. "Did they hope to find a mujahid [Freedom--fighter] in my kitchen? We are all mujahids. so what if I don't have a Kalashnikov?" asks Rafika, a Rainawari housewife. The children talk of Kalashnikovs, and separatist passion overtakes logic. "I don't mind if he is killed, take him," says Ashraf Sheikh, an emporium owner, pushing his infant son forward. His wife nods assent.

The mood on the other side of the fence reflects the same desperation. Rarely does a day pass when the security forces do not lose a comrade. Harassed by militants using innocent people as shields, abused by the people and hounded by the Government to deliver peace, theirs is a hopeless plight, "You say we are killing children. I'll give you a pistol, can you shoot a child?" asks a harried CRPF deputy commandant. The jawans have not seen their families for months.



Dallt Voice, Bangalore .

August 1, 1990.

KASHMIR: CASE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION by Minoo Masani

The state of Jammu and Kashmir was never a part of India. Lord Mountbatten gave the Maharaja of Kashmir the option to join either India or Pakistan. Led by Sheikh Abdullah the Muslims of Kashmir persuaded the Maharaja to accede to India on the strength of a solemn promise that the accession would be subject to plebiscite.

A lady asked me other day, "why Gorbachov would not agree to the Lithuanian demand for independence from the Soviet Union?" I countered with the question: "Do you believe that Kashmir belongs to India?" "Yes, of course" she said. "That is why?" I said. "There are too many Russians who wrongly believe that Lithuania belongs to the Soviet Union, just as you believe that Kashmir belongs to India;

so poor Gorbachov does not feel free to accede openly to the Lithuanian demand." Unfortunately, the good lady's answer could have been by nine out of ten Indians. Let me make it clear at the outset that while my sympathies are with those who want the valley to be independent, I condemn the methods of violence and terror to which some of them are resorting.

I am delighted to read two recent articles in the press, one by Ajit Bhattacharya, entitled: "The last chance in Kashmir" which appeared in "The Statesman", on 7th January and the other by Pran Chopra, which appeared in the "Independent" of 15th January under the title: "We have failed Kashmir". From what these experienced and prominent members of the press whose patriotism cannot be doubted have said, the responsibility for the current situation lies not with the people of Kashmir but with the Government of India in Delhi. Even more encouraging have been the statesman-like words of Mr. Simranjit Singh Mann on 26th January, asking the Governor of Kashmir to lift the siege by the Indian Army, he went on to say, "The Indian Government is bound by Article 51 of the Constitution to its international commitments. Under the United Nations charter the State of Jammu and Kashmir is disputed territory". He further observed "The people of Kashmir have their rights and I support every democratic action. Plebiscite is not a bad word. The right of vote must prevail over the right of the bullet." Along with me, there are thus at least three Musketeers in the field. Having been a student of this matter since independence, I heartily concur with these gentlemen even though it is not fashionable to say so.

Conditional Accession: The State of Jammu and Kashmir was never part of India. Let me repeat that at the time of the transfer of power by the British, Kashmir was not part of India. Lord Mountbatten gave the Maharaja of Kashmir the option, if he so desired, to join either India or Pakistan. The Maharaja, better known as Mr. A, dithered but led by Sheikh Mohammad Abdullah, the Muslims of Kashmir persuaded the Maharaja to accede to India on the strength of a solemn promise given by Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru, that the accession would be subject to a plebiscite which would enable the people of Kashmir to decide their destiny. India later forgot all about the plebiscite and to this day the people of Kashmir Valley have been denied the right of self-determination.

Nehru's Regret: The later story is a sad one. Nehru joined in a conspiracy to make a '*coup d'etat*' against the Kashmir Prime Minister Sheikh Abdullah, arrested him and put the corrupt Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad as a puppet in his place. Abdullah then remained under trial on false charges for about twelve years because the case against him could not be proved. In January 1963 my

friend, Lal Bahadur Shastri, who was then minister without portfolio in Nehru's Government told me that Jawaharlal Nehru wanted Abdullah to be released. "*Maine Sheikh Saheb ko badanam kiya hai*" (I have done great wrong to Sheikh Abdullah). So the Sheikh was duly released and sent by Nehru to Pakistan to negotiate a settlement of the Kashmir problem with President Ayub Khan. He was to bring Ayub Khan to Delhi to sign an agreement if he agreed to do so. Sheikh Saheb telephoned Nehru from Pakistan to say that Ayub was willing for a settlement and so the day of his visit to Delhi was fixed for June 20. Tragically, Nehru died in May and Kashmir remains a problem to plague both countries.

JP's Mission to Pakistan: When Lal Bahadur Shastri was Prime Minister, he sent my friend, Jayaprakash Narayn, to Pakistan to find if the settlement of Kashmir was possible. When Jayaprakash returned to Delhi, he saw me before he saw Lal Bahadur and he told me what Ayub had suggested. Jayaprakash told me that Ayub suggested that "Ladakh and Jammu should join India but that the Kashmir Valley should be independent and, as in the Austrian Treaty between the Soviet Union and the USA, India and Pakistan should guarantee the independence and integrity of the valley". When Jayaprakash returned from Lal Bahadur Shastri later that evening, he was depressed because the Indian Prime Minister had failed to respond. "*Yeh cheez bahot acchi hai, lekin Parliament aur meri party nahin manne gi*" (This is very good, but it will not be acceptable to parliament and my party). How sad, I commented to Jayaprakash that perhaps he and I were the only Indian, who could see our own country's Imperialism along with that of other countries.

Rajaji's warning: Rajaji, always the statesman and a realist, wrote in "Swarajya" as far back as September 25, 1965, "..... it would be as foolish as any foolish thing a nation can do, if we proceed on the assumption, that we can hold any people down by sheer force and without making it absolutely manifest to world nations that we have the consent of the people concerned by imposing any administration on them. Like injustice, the political decision concerning Kashmir, or any part of it, should be on the basis of self-determination....."

It is all very well to send Jagmohan as Governor and start shooting. The first result of this repression is a revolt of the Kashmir police, who have alleged atrocities committed by the Indian Armed Forces on the people of Kashmir. So, now we have only an army of occupation to rely on. It is possible by brutal terrorism to suppress a national urge for freedom, but for how long? Don't recent events in Eastern Europe have a lesson for our government?

Neutralizing the Valley: Many of my friends tell me, that if a plebiscite was held, the people of Kashmir would vote to join Pakistan. I do not agree. They would vote for independence. But why not try this out by asking Pakistan government whether they would join India by neutralizing the valley on the lines suggested by President Ayub Khan? If she declines, the blame will be on Pakistan. If she agrees, let us go ahead and do the right thing.

This advice may not be palatable to many, but sooner or later, it will have to be carried out, so why waste time? Why not turn to the path of conciliation right now? For one thing, we can stop spending the large amounts of money that we rather stupidly spend on Kashmir without getting any gratitude.



The Times, London.
August 7, 1990.

WOMEN A TARGET FOR ATROCITIES IN KASHMIR

by Cristopher Thomas

"As India tightens security in Kashmir, international observers and human rights organisations are alarmed by increasing evidence of the rape and torture of Muslim women by security forces."

"Under powers introduced by the state government on April 22, the army and Border Security Force have been given almost unfettered powers to search, seize and arrest. Atrocities against women appear to have increased substantially since then."

"A Delhi-based human rights group, the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, has published a detailed account of rape and torture in the Valley, concluding that 'there seems to be a deliberate attempt to make women the primary target of attack by security forces'. It is the first in-depth report by any human rights group since the army started taking control of the Kashmir Valley early this year."

"The predominantly-Muslim population there is outraged by the atrocities and staged a three-day strike that brought the region to a standstill."

"Of all the atrocities committed by the security forces, the treatment of Kashmiri women has embittered the people of the Valley the most," the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir said in its report, *Kashmir Imprisoned*."



The Telegraph, Calcutta.
August 8, 1990.

EYELESS IN THE VALLEY

by Ashok Mitra

"The face of reality is not altered thereby: the Kashmiris as a community have ceased to believe in the existing arrangements with the Union of India, and that is a very mild way of putting it. We, that is, the rest of us who constitute the Union of India have failed to persuade the Kashmiris that it is to their interest to continue to link their fate with ours."

"For what are the choices left with us? The extension of the Disturbed Areas Act to the Valley is a bit like going into the confession box: the Kashmiris are no longer being governed, they are under an army of occupation."

"We have consistently fought shy of a plebiscite in Kashmir, we persist resisting proposals for a referendum. There is no scope for a fake poll for the State Assembly either; not even a couple of hundred local functionaries would be available to help us put up such a show."

"It is little use suggesting that cheating in elections had been the rule rather than the exception since Bakshi Ghulam Mohammad's days, people in the Valley have travelled fast along the learning curve in the more recent years."

"It is thus the jingo approach we are left with: right or wrong, Kashmir belongs to us. But then the call to 'conquer' the Valley is at least more honest than the pretence of Kashmir being a bilateral problem. Unfortunately, we are not the United States of America, the rest of the world will not permit us the role of a late-autumn poor-man's imperialist. Nor is our rather unsubtle mention of the prospect of Islamic fundamentalism entrenching itself in the Valley should we not be there likely to have such purchase; fanatics are dime a dozen these days."

"To keep down by force a hostile population in their own territory is no easy task."



The Greater Kashmir, Srinagar.
August 9, 1990.

A BLEEDING KASHMIR APPEALS TO MANKIND

Kashmir is bleeding, burning, groaning under brutalities unheard of in the history of repression. Daily killings, periodical massacres, arson, rape, theft, robbery—all this under the cover of a seven-month long curfew, interspersed with relaxations of varying duration, at the hands of the so-called security forces of India who entered Kashmir 43 years ago, under an agreement, with the avowed air of safeguarding her freedom from tribal invaders. A reign of terror has been let loose against millions of unarmed people including old men, women, school-going children and babies. The details of Indian terrorism will easily fill up a volume and are outside the scope of this brief appeal.

Since the imposition to the seven-month old curfew, no day has passed when people have not been killed. In between, there have been large-scale massacres, the most gruesome of which have been those of Batmaloo, Gawkadal, Zakoorah, Tengpora, Hawal, Lal Chock, Handwara, Baderwah, Bandipora, Anantnag, Baramulla Ialamia College. On each occasion the Indian forces fired into the crowd and killed hundreds of unarmed and defenseless people which include old men, women and children. The goriest of all these massacres, surpassing Jalianwala Bagh and Mylae massacres was that near Islamia college. Over two hundred mourners in the huge funeral procession of Maulana Farooq were mercilessly gunned down.

Two sets of pall-bearers were shot down one after the other and even the dead body was not spared.

It has now become a matter of routine that whenever the Indian forces take offence they break open the doors of houses and shoot the inmates indiscriminately. Such victims include pregnant women, babies sucking at their mothers' breasts as well as the suckling mothers, bedridden patients and pious old men and women.

Not content with shedding innocent blood, the Indian forces have now started setting fire to residential houses and business establishments. This was done before but is now freely indulged under the pretext of treating Kashmir as a disturbed area. Recently the main market at Sopore was burnt down to ashes and the security forces stopped fire fighters to do their duty. Soon after, two whole villages in Magam were also set on fire. In this arson several innocent residents were also burnt alive who were prevented at gun point by the Indian soldiers to escape from the flames. Some markets

and streets of the Srinagar city have also been destroyed in arson.

The Indian forces have beaten even the beasts of the jungle and cast an unerasable stigma on the face of humanity is their brutal raping of innocent women. Chanporah, Lal Bazar, Sopore, Wadwan, Pulwama, Handwara, Kupwara and Uri are mute witnesses to the most shameful deeds that have ever been committed under the sun. In Chanaporah an innocent girl had to jump from the third storey of her house and get killed to save her honour from the brutes who had let themselves loose on the women of the area. In Sopore, 2 rapes were committed in a single day and the victims included pregnant women, old ladies and mothers of one-month and two-month old babies. The area of Wadwan saw 41 women raped in a single night. At Badasgam a bride and her maid were pulled out of the bridal car and raped in the broad day light in the presence of the groom and his companions and the groom himself was all but killed. Brutality reached its limit when a father was forced to strip his unmarried daughter naked.

Under the pretext of conducting searches, the Indian forces enter residential houses, beat and kill the inmates and make away with cash, jewellery and other valuables. Hundreds of houses have so far been robbed in this way in all areas of Kashmir.

Imprisonment without trial will be an euphemism to describe what the Indian forces are doing in Kashmir. Hundreds and hundreds of innocent people have been and are rounded up and imprisoned at unknown places in India. Some of these imprisonments remain unknown even to the top executive authorities like the Governor of the State.

All the prisoners-innocent or otherwise-are subjected to worse than third degree methods of interrogation in torture cells called Interrogation Centres. In Anantnag, Tral, Handwarah and Srinagar deadbodies of blooming youths have been dropped by the authorities with their eyes plucked out, their noses and ears hewn off and their bodies riddled with holes and scars of burning iron rods. In comparison, Israel and South Africa are civilized and the Nazi gas-chambers seem, in retrospect, kind and humane. Young prisoners are taken to the line of control and shot dead and announcements are made that they died in encounters with the security forces.

For the past one decade, the Indian authorities and their puppet regimes have been dismissing government servants on grounds of harbouring anti-India feelings. But the persecution of government servants has become much more intense since

December 1989. All Muslim Officers including policemen are suspect and have been reduced to naught. More than 150 officials have been dismissed summarily. Others are being warned of unforeseen consequences.

The Indian forces have devised ingenious and hitherto unknown ways of humiliating Kashmiris and dealing fatal blows to their sensitive psyche, people are made to lick off with their tongues anti-colonial slogans painted on walls. Most people's tongues bleed and at least two people were reported to have died in consequence of this brutal exercise. *Imams* (prayer-leaders in the mosques) were made to sweep streets with their beards which are symbols of religious piety and honour. Several people were made to drink filth from gutters. In Anantnag-whose original name was Islamabad and hence appears in all the signboards there--people were made to rub off word Islamabad' as Islam happens to be a part of this name.

Thus one of the blackest chapters of genocide and persecution in human history is being written in Kashmir. India has imposed a strict ban on the news emanating from this unlucky land and banned even humanitarian organizations, like the Red Cross, to enter the valley.

We appeal to the world conscience to awaken and lend us succour in the worst crisis of our history. we appeal to the human rights' organizations like the Amnesty International, to prevail upon India to let it visit Kashmir and see for itself the plight of its people. We appeal to the Red Cross to have the Indian ban lifted from its humanitarian activities in Kashmir. We appeal to the world media to highlight the atrocities and indignities which are regularly perpetrated against innocent Kashmiris. And-as the Indian preachers of *ahinsa* (non-violence) are preparing to receive Nelson Mandella-we appeal to the world to ask India to begin its charity at home.



View Point, Lahore.

August 9, 1990.

INDIAN INTELLECTUALS' PERCEPTION OF KASHMIR ISSUE

The writer while giving impressions of his visit to New Delhi besides surveying the Indian internal political scene, concentrates on Indo-Pak relations in the context of the Kashmir issue. On this issue he says:

It is realized by most percipient Indians that a major factor in fuelling disaffection was the economic decline in Kashmir caused by a fall in the tourist trade over the last five years. The rise in unemployment among educated young Kashmiris was another important factor which too was

ignore. Nor was anything done to end the Kashmiris' political frustration and sense of deprivation.

All this grist to the mill of the two main Kashmiri factions which seem to believe that the time for negotiations with the Indian government has ended and Kashmiris must now fight their way to freedom as has been done recently with considerable success in other parts of the world. Indian policies succeeded quickly in alienating the mass of the Kashmiri people where Pakistan's clumsy interference had flopped badly at least on two occasions.

Of course, the main issue between India and Pakistan remains the Kashmir question. The change in Government in Delhi has coincided with the rise in the insurgency. The general perception in India is that very largely it is Pakistan's initiative which has allowed the situation in Kashmir to reach such a boil. There is much talk of training camps in Azad Kashmir and other places, with American corroboration about their existence, and the closure of some among them, and the constant infiltration that is said to be encouraged by Pakistan's forces stationed along the border. Many Indians believe that as long as such aid continues, the deadlock between. Hence calls for pre-emptive strikes.

Fortunately, sober elements realize that the Kashmir issue did not erupt in January 1990, that the problem has been with us since 1947, that at various times (starting with Sardar Patel's offer of a barter between Kashmir and Hyderabad) and negotiated settlement was sought, the plebiscite proposal was repeated in 1953; and a decade later Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru sought a solution for the dispute by sending Sheikh Abdullah to Pakistan. These and other factors including the Simla Agreement itself, do not sustain the formal Indian position that Kashmir is a purely domestic matter - and the only point of dispute is the return of Azad Kashmir territory on the strength of Maharaja Hari Singh signing the instrument of accession after he had fled from Srinagar.

It is equally obvious, however, that no Government in India and certainly not one as weak as the present coalition will be prepared to go back to 1949 or 1953. Nor, considering their present relative military strength, can Pakistan allow the clashes in Kashmir to spark off another disastrous war with India. Most Indian strategists also accept that despite its preponderance of military strength, India cannot defeat Pakistan and would be stupid to try and occupy it.

Hence, despite all the bitter anger and rancour caused by the daily mounting casualty figures in East Punjab and Srinagar valley, national opinion in India is keen on a negotiated settlement. It is seen to be the only sane option. While, because of the known differences of views between the two Governments, the next meeting of Foreign Secretaries is not expected to sort out all problems, it is stressed that the two sides must continue to nibble at the wall that divides them, so that gradually it begins to crumble.

For Kashmir's final solution many Indian scholars and publicists are prepared to reconsider the proposal mooted by Sheikh Abdullah for treating Kashmir as a separate entity which would serve not as a point of contention but a borders between J and K and India and Pakistan would be thrown open to trade and travel, and the people will stop carrying herion and Kalashnikovs and establish normal commerce. This will help bring to the people of Kashmir the prosperity they have always sought and which was promised to them by the Sheikh in his Charter for a New Kasshmir. It is significant that almost all the all the Indian participants at the conference attended by us, the international conference for S.E. Asia endorsed the gatherings call for dialogue and negotiations to settle all Indo-Pakistan issues.

To reach this goal, both Pakitan and India, must abjure all plans for war, respect the Simla accord, stop needling each other reaffirm their pledges not to use force, and also begin to take other steps to improve their relation.



The Le Solr , Brussels.
August 13, 1990.

"After eight months of a struggle against the administration of New Delhi which caused over one thousand deaths, Kashmir sinks every day a bit more into violence and fear without the appearance of any hope for a solution to stop a separatist campaign in the only state of the country with a Muslim majority. "

"Since August 1 the region was paralysed every day without exception, be it by the curfew, be it by the strikes launched against excesses of violence imputed to the police or to protest against the arrest of two leaders of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), the principal and most popular of the organisations struggle for the secession from India."

"Srinagar, presents the looks of ghost city invaded by bunkers and soldiers with their finger on the trigger. 'In the streets remain only stray dogs and Indian dogs, prnple are afraid,' launches a doctor from Sopore, another city of the Valley strongly affected by the movement."

"The massacre on August 6 by th police forces of at least 9 people ir Srinagar, a shooting which caused at least seven deaths a few days earlier in Patan, the burning down of dozens of houses and shops in Sopore for which the population blamed the military, a only some of the atrocities which set the population of the government of New Delhi."

"The situation deteriorates every day. People are killed at random since Kashmir was decreed 'zone of troubles' in the beginning of July', says Omar Farooq, son and successor of the religious chief of the Valley murdered in May last by persons unknown."
nowadays seem to have the support of the affluent and alienated middle class.

In New Delhi, Jagmohan, who was twice governor of the state of Jammu and Kashmir, stated in an interview, that at the beginning of the second mandate, 'all the components of power were in the hands of the terrorists and of their supporters'. Jagmohan, who only uses one name, was on duty from April 1984 to July 1989 and from January to May of this year. He was removed after the army shot to death at least 47 people in a funeral."

"The Kashmir inhabitants state that the arrival, at the end of last year, of thousands of Indian soldiers and paramilitary forces, patrolling deserted streets and searching house only increased the distance of more than 40 years."

"They created in each Muslim a suspect, said a businessman about the attempts of the Indian Armed Forces to submit an independence movement growing very quickly. At this moment, We are all militants."

"They say that more than 10,000 civil servants signed an 'open letter to the citizens of the world', where they listed the attempts against human rights, like the long curfew, the violent searches, the enquiries against young people, the raping of a bride by a band and shooting of mourning people in the funeral of the murdered religious leader, Moulvi Mohammad Farooq".

"It was not the bullets, said the letter, 'but something worse than poison coming out of those guns that forced hundreds of families to set apart, shamed the Indian democracy and left indelible scars in the soul of Kashmir."

"India forbids the international organisations of Human Rights to visit Kashmir, where all the foreigners have to register with the Police at the entrance of the valley."

"But many groups of agiast Indian citizens have been visiting the Valley and have written very critical reports."

"In Srinagar, Mufti Baháuddin Farooqi, old Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Jammu and Kashmir, and his son, Shaukat Ahmed Farooqi lawyer, started documenting accusations of violation of human and civil rights of the Kashmir inhabitants."

"Farooqi states that the armed forces were sent to Kashmir in violation of the special statute conceded to the State of Jammu and Kashmir by the Indian constitution."

"About 11 to 15 thousand inhabitants of Kashmir were arrested without conviction, according to members of the Association of Kashmir Lawyers, who also state that some bodies were abandoned next to the Pakistani border, in order to be called 'infiltrators'".

"One state policemen, in Baramulla, stated that he was caught dressed as a

civilian, in a bus stop, by the federal troops."

"I showed them my police card, he said. The Colonel stated, 'That has no value to me.'"

"When he refused to implicate a police officer of Kashmir in the terrorist movement, he was submitted to electric shocks, he stated."

"They also applied hot irons on my back and things, he said. When asked for water they threw petrol mixed with pepper on my wounds".

"On the Fourth day they threw me in a bus and told the driver to leave me on the road side and to pass over me."

"I was saved by a shop guard, who took me to the hospital. He raised his shirt and unbuttoned his trousers to show dozens of wounds on his body."

"The inhabitants of Kashmir also accused the Indian force of robbery - the same accusation was also made in the North of Sri Lanka, when the Indians were stationed there, from 1987 to the beginning of this year."

"One woman of about 70 years stated that 32 soldiers belonging to the Security Force of the Border entered her house where she is living with her son and his family, right after midnight and without warning.

"They entered when we were asleep. I had 33,700 rupees (about two thousands dollars), they took away 26,000. After leaving, we discovered that they had also taken the radio, a watch, shoes, slippers, glasses, a lamp and a nut-cracker".

"Surgeons and other medical staff of one the biggest hospitals of Srinagar filled one consultation room, they saw, including a man whose rectum had been torn up by a dirty bamboo."

"Each time a doctor helps a victim of violence in our society, there are problems, one doctor said. 'The security forces enter hospitals, beat up patients, beat up doctors, enter operation rooms and destroy instruments. Ambulances are attacked and passes for curfew are confiscated. Some people died because they could not reach the hospitals.'"

"The doctor state that there is shortage of medicines for diabetes, heart patients, ulcer treatment, hypertension and cancer. They accuse the Indian airlines of not accepting loads of medicines from New Delhi, about 900 kilometers away. The company said to be decreasing the cargo transports due to security reasons."



The Dlarlo de Noticias, Lisbon.
August 13, 1990.

WAR WITHOUT AN END IN KASHMIR

"The behaviour of the Indian troops 'shames democracy and leaves indelible scars on the soul of Kashmir.' This is the dominant feeling in the Indian state with the longest separatist tradition. The attempts against human rights seem to be so serious that New Delhi is avoiding the entry of international organisations".

"Silent, barefooted men dug up a small grave in the cemetery of the Idgah Martyrs, a new strip of land on the surroundings of this destroyed town. The grave was for a child of six years, Sajad Ahmad Sofi killed by Indian troops, stated his family, while he was trying to hide between the legs of his father during a search in his house."

"Forget about bad nutrition and lack of vaccines, gastroenteritis, trauma, nightmares of children, stated Altaf Hussein, pediatrician. We have here children of three and four years old are victims of bullets. And adding to bad treatments and insults, we heard them calling children 'terrorists' in the night news of Delhi."

"During the past two years, there has been a silent revolution in Kashmir Valley, the green home of poetry and music, the one which the Moghul Emperors called the 'Paradise of Earth.' "



August 14, 1990.

APPEAL FOR URGENT ACTION **Amnesty International**

On 7 August at about 10.30 p.m Border Security Forces (BSF) personnel reportedly forcibly entered seven private houses in Mashali Mohala Hawal, Srinagar and deliberately shot at least ten people, six of whom died on the spot and four of whom died later. Reports allege that the members of the BSF carried out these killings in relation for an attack approximately two hours earlier on one of the patrols in the area. The victims are said to include a 70-year-old man and a 7-year-old boy. There are also allegations that during the same incident three women were repeatedly raped by members of the BSF.

The recently appointed Governor of Jammu and Kashmir has announced that an investigation into the killings has been ordered and that charges of murder and arson have been brought against the Director General of the BSF in relation to the incident. He has however denied the allegations of rape by BSF personnel. The terms of reference of the investigation ordered and the authority that is to carry it out are not known to have been made public. It is also not known whether the members of the BSF patrol implicated have

been removed from position of authority over Srinager civilians, pending conclusion of the inquiry.

On the basis of the information received so far, Amnesty International is concerned that the 7 August killings by thhe BSF at Mashali Mohali, Sriganar seem to have been the result of a deliberate realiatory attack on innocent, unarmed civilians.

- expressing concern at reports that Border Security forces (BSF) personnel on 7 August forcibly entered seven private houses at Mashali Mohala, Srinagar and deliberately shot at least ten people;

- welcoming the news that an inquiry has been ordered into the killings and that charges of murder and arson have been brought against the Director General of the BSF;

- asking to be informed of the terms of reference of the inquiry and urging that those carrying out the inquiry are elected for their impartiality, that the methods and results of the inquiry are promptly made public, and that any persons found responsible for torture, killings or other human rights violations are brought to justice;

- urging that, if not done so yet, the allegation of rape are included in the terms of reference of the inquiry;

- urging that immediate steps are taken to ensure that those potentially implicated are removed from any position of control or power over complainants, witnesses and their relatives as well as those conducting the investigation.



India Today, New Delhi.

August 15, 1990.

KASHMIR: LIVES ON THE LINE

by Shekhar Gupta

Several pitched battles in the last six weeks have resulted in the death or capture of around a hundred infiltrators [Freedom fighters]. Each encounter brings more work for the security agencies' Joint Interrogation Centre in Srinagar and swells their inventories of captured Kalashnikovs, rocket-launchers, plastic explosives, anti-tank and anti-personnel mines and, lately, cyanide capsules. The cyanide is a recent development.

That may change. Soldiers [Indian] involved in the bloody hide-and-seek have noticed a growing willingness on the part of infiltrators to join battle. Last fortnight they ambushed a security forces partol near Tithwal, killing four soldiers before losing five of their own men in the swift counter-attack. What the Indian forces consider more significant, however, is the encounter earlier (on July 8/9) in the desolate Gulmarg Heights.

An 11-man patrol of the 3rd Battalion of the 'Jammu and

Kashmir Rifles' noticed movement in the bushes along a ravine. The junior commissioned officer commanding the patrol and his deputy, a naik, decided to check. Both were cut down by Kalashnikovs. The rest of the patrol took positions, radioed the base and waited for reinforcements.

This batch belonged to Hizb-ul-Mujahedin, the most Islamic and pro-Pakistani group. An account of the group's suicidal journey comes from Mushtaq Ahmed Dar, the one caught alive. Shaking with fear, he tells the story of how he was enticed to go to pok by the militants from his village Karalpura. Dar says his handlers told him their idea was to raise an army of one lakh Kashmiri fighters with a stockpile of armaments that would be unleashed on the Indian state at an opportune moment.

Officers say 'the recent encounters including one last fortnight near Poonch in which 34 infiltrators were killed, point to a pattern. Around this core will be built a network of activists good enough to throw the Indian Army off-balance in the event of a conflict or to bleed it white in a long low-intensity conflict. The weapons carried by infiltrators are not new, but are clean and oiled, almost always with Chinese markings pointing to a single-source supply. another innovation is the anti-tank mine in which an anti-personnel mine can be fixed to make it blow up even under the weight of a light vehicle.

But if the forces today have some confidence, it is partly because of the improvement in intelligence. A network of agents is being strung together from the shreds of a four-decade-old spy system. One of Governor G. C. Saxena's first steps was to bring about some coordination in the functioning of half a dozen security organisations, each with its own intelligence network often working at cross-purposes with the rest. Selective killing of Intelligence Bureau (IB) operators has scared off the rest. The state CID, blighted by mixed loyalties, was a write-off. The BSF was confined to the border, and the army intelligence had its sensors turned across the border.

Some of that is changing now. Driving arrested suspects around in unmarked cars to point out other insurgents, has proved effective. The value of good intelligence is also evident from the fact that the half a dozen or so arms captures in the cities in the past month have all been based on tip-offs, yielding more than the entire neurotic operation of house-to-house searches. "Intelligence is like a shy maiden. It stays away. But once a beginning is made things become easier," says Jameel Qureshi, veteran police officer and advisor to the governor.

Frankfurter Allgemeine, Zeitung, Frankfurt
August 15, 1990.

"Bodies, whose heads are chopped off, are frequently found in the Jhelum river which crosses Srinagar and the Valley of Kashmir. People say that they are 'victims of torture'. Later, it is said on national radio that they were shot as 'terrorists trained in Pakistan'. A similar report was aired by radio repeatedly over the last week-end. Twenty-five 'militants' were killed in 'crossfire' with 'security forces' near the truce-line. One has more details in the meantime: it is said to be an act of revenge. And not the 'Central Reserve Police Force' (CRPF) or the 'Border Security Force' (BSF) are reportedly responsible for this, but regular units of the Indian Army."

"In Panzipora, they dug 25 graves. Here as well as elsewhere in Kashmir is the graveyard for martyrs, the most important meeting point for Muslims who do not want to have anything to do with India. Women are chanting together with men: 'Oh Allah, what has become of this country?' Then they ask their children: 'What do we want?' In Panzipora, old men with long beards and schoolchildren of fifteen, at the utmost eighteen years, are buried."

"Malik Ghulam Rasool, a MP, swears to 'Allah, the Almighty, and our Prophet Mohammad' (PBUH) that not a single one among them was a 'militant'. He identified the bodies of two schoolchildren. The head of a third one of 9th grade was smashed, probably with a gun. The politician is fighting back tears. Around 50 persons, including girls and women, are still missing. The number of victims could rise. Soldiers burned 19 houses."

"Then he tells how it happened, that around 350 soldiers arrived within minutes and fired. One farmer saw that they killed 11 people who were older than 60 years. They raped women. In the nearby village of Balipora, three women were raped by 14 soldiers. Nazir Ahmad, a 22 year old teacher says that even if they have to make more sacrifices, they will not remain with India."

"This is their attitude, the estrangement from India. Each massacre strengthens them, the brutalities of Panzipora are not an individual case. They have increased since New Delhi declared the Kashmir Valley as 'disturbed area' and practically imposed the state of emergency. A soldier can do whatever he wants, fire on suspects or burn houses where separatists are assumed to be hiding. Warrants or permissions to search houses are no longer required. Four million Muslims are under military rule. The 'security forces' seem to have corresponding instructions. They burned around 200 houses in four hours and made sure that ambulances and fire engines arrived late."

"Even in the news of Indian papers, the following pattern is repeated time and again: army or paramilitary units are attacked by separatists. 'Soldiers hit back', 'lose their mind', throw bombs in houses, rape women and shoot men, who were incidentally there and had absolutely nothing to do with 'militants'. The reports of human rights organizations and legal committees, which visited Kashmir, appear on the back pages of the newspapers. The most recent document is that of four women, including a journalist and well-known female lawyer at the Supreme Court. It is called 'Kashmir Imprisoned'. Among other things they came to the conclusion that in order to break the morale of people, women in Kashmir are increasingly becoming the main target of the security forces. The latter would tie men on trees for a whole day, or hang them up from their feet, then search the houses and rape women and girls, and tell the men about it. Afterwards, the houses are burned. This seems to be the short version of the soldiers' strategy of intimidation. Recently, more men are being tortured on their genitals with the help of hand-driven dynamos and, what was especially humiliating for Muslim men, they were ordered to undress in front of their wives and daughters."



*The Hindu, Madras .
August 15, 1990.*

A SPECIAL CORRESPONDENT REPORT

"The Government is seriously concerned about some recent incidents of excesses committed by the security forces personnel in Kashmir. Top officials reviewing the situation have warned the Jammu and Kashmir Government that retaliatory firing of the army and police on civilians and destruction of civilian property are counter-productive and will cost the nation dear. Meetings are planned with top police and Army officials to resolve the problem."

"Speaking in confidence, a senior Army official confessed that the problem stemmed from poor discipline and leadership qualities. He was referring to an incident on 9-10 August at Dadi Kot in Kupwara district where the Army shot dead some 24 civilians following an ambush of their patrol party resulting in injuries to three security personnel."

"The Army personnel involved in the incident claimed they had shot dead 13 militants following an ambush. They produced one universal machine gun, 1 AK-47 assault rifle and one pistol as evidence. However locals said that Army massacre was a retaliation since the militants who ambushed and injured three Army personnel escaped and those shot by the Army were villagers working in paddy fields. Following the arrival of senior officials, another 11 bodies were

recovered from the paddy fields. Simultaneously, the Army personnel also burnt down 12 houses and five cowsheds."

"Some weeks back, in a guided incident eight persons were shot dead including an officer of the J&K Police in Kupwara area."

"Similar incidents of house burning by other security personnel have been worrying the authorities for some time past. On the day that the Dadi Kot incident occurred, CRPF personnel were charged with burning some houses in a nearby area."



The Patriot, New Delhi.

August 17, 1990.

ALIENATING THE INNOCENT IN KASHMIR

by Sayyed Mallik

"My

arrival in Srinagar on August 6 turned out to be brush with ironies, tragedies and the absurdities of the situation prevailing there."

"As I was to learn Shortly...Men of the security force indulged in cold blooded murder of innocent citizens, rape of hapless women, ransacking of houses and rounded it off with acts of arson. The toll was horrendous: twelve killed, most of them in their beds, including four members each of two families."

"That more or less has been the pattern of excesses and atrocities taking place in Kashmir. I was told by eyewitnesses that these incidents were on the rise since imposition of the law arming security forces with draconian powers. The general impression willy nilly was that the forces had been given a 'licence' to go on rampage, to say the least. Lack of convincing accountability for such acts only strengthens the impression."

About the incidents in Mashali Mohallah, he writes: "A number of houses were raided, ransacked and a few set alight. Inmates including young boys and old men were mercilessly gunned down, many of them in their beds. Their blood stained beddings later provided the tell-tale signs of the orgy. Women were allegedly raped. The residents appeared to have been caught unawares."

"The security force personnel departed, leaving behind a bloody trail of death and destruction and inflicting irreversible injury on Kashmiri psyche. The degrading impact of atrocities in Kashmir can perhaps be better understood by recalling the fact that there are as many as half a dozen of rape cases where the victims, married and unmarried girls, have personally lodged the police report and offered to be medically examined."

"Note needs be taken of incidents of killings and arson by security forces in Srinagar, Kupwara, Sriggufwara and Sopore, leaving aside relatively minor incidents. It is abundantly clear that the supporters of militants do not find it easy to generate such intense feelings unless there have been atrocities."

"Civil liberties have been reduced to being perceived as unaffordable luxury under the existing dispensation. To cite just two instances: One Bashir Ahmed from Uri area was 'arrested' by security forces under the command of a local police officer. His whereabouts remained unknown to his family for nearly a month till his body with eyes gouged out was found lying in the outskirts of his village. Similarly one Lateef was also picked up for interrogation. The family received his body which had been thrown at a distant place in the Uri area."

"There are complaints of rampant extortion by sections of para-military forces. Huge sums of money are being extorted under the threat of arrest and interrogation."



The New York Times, New York.
August 17, 1990.

"The former elected Chief Minister of the state accused Indian security forces today of repression, brutality and corruption in their efforts to end an uprising their efforts to end an uprising there."

"Do you think your guns will silence them?" the former official, Dr. Farooq Abdullah, asked. Do you think your forces will silence them? Those who feel that way, I want to tell them Guns have never solved any question. Nor will they solve it today."

"Dr. Abdullah recently toured the troubled Kashmir Valley at the request of Prime Minister Singh, to whom he has submitted recommendations he declined to disclose. 'Whole villages have been destroyed,' he said. Innocent women have been raped. Our children have been shot in their beds. How can I go to them and say: Vote for India. What democracy is this?"

"Sanity must emerge and say, this far, no more; let us stop," he said."



Pakistan Times, Islamabad
August 19, 1990

NAM'S INDIFFERENCE TOWARDS TOWARDS KASHMIR

By Amanullah Khan

Kashmiri's continue their freedom struggle for forty long years

peacefully. In the beginning India, on one hand, kept on dillydallying implementation of her aforementioned nationally and internationally made pledges on one excuse or the other, and on the other hand kept on strengthening her military grip on Kashmir and after over a decade starting backing out of her pledges and claiming of Kashmir to be her integral part without any kind of justification. During all this period, except for some very short periods Kashmir prisons remained full of all those demanding their inherent and pledged right of self determination but India did not allow its publicity on international level with the result that the world started believing in Indian baseless propaganda that Kashmiris had accepted Kashmir as an integral part of India and that they were satisfied and happy with that state.

In the mean time overwhelming majority of Kashmiris, specially the youth, became restive and started thinking in terms of starting armed struggle for their cherished goal, national liberation. Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front which was already making preparations for armed struggle besides working on international level, catered to their needs and after necessary preparation, they (Kashmir youth) started armed struggle towards the end of July 1988 which has since been going on gaining momentum.

Armed struggle for their inherent, pledged and internationally recognized right of self determination is not only the birth right of Kashmiris as a forcibly subjugated nation but they are also entitled to it under United Nations General Assembly Resolution in its section 2 "Reaffirms (ed) the inherent right of colonial peoples to struggle by all possible means at their disposal against colonial powers which suppress their aspirations for freedom and independence". The words 'by all possible means at their disposal' naturally include armed struggle as interpreted time and again by NAM member states who had sponsored and played a leading role in having the resolution adopted. As such, India has no right, whatsoever, to dub Kashmiri freedom fighters as terrorists. As a matter of fact, there is only one kind of terrorism going on in Kashmir today and that is Indian state terrorism and the following undeniable facts fully endorse it.

Over 250000 strong Indian armed and para-military forces, deployed in Kashmir reacted like savages to Kashmiris' fully justified armed struggle. During the last about two years they have shot dead about 5000 innocent Kashmiris including men, women, children and even infants, raped hundreds of women even very young girls, arrested over 14000 youth subjecting them to unimaginable physical and mental tortures. Hundreds of the arrested youth have been tortured to death and their dead bodies burnt or thrown into river.

Over 200 unarmed and innocent men, women and children were killed on Jan 21 and over 250 on May 21, 1990 alone.

The main objective of the NAM was to support freedom movements and right of self determination of enthralled peoples. Moreover section 3(2) of UN General Assembly Resolution 2621 provides that the member states

(of the UN) shall render all necessary moral and material assistance to the people of colonial territories in the struggle to gain their freedom independence. But NAM states, with only a few exceptions, have failed either to support 12 million Kashmiris just struggle for their national emancipation or to raise their voice against the mass massacre of Kashmiris by Indians thereby violating the very basic objectives of NAM and UN resolution 2621. One Steve Biko was tortured to death by white racist police of South Africa and the NAM member states in general and African states in particular, raised hue and cry, rightly though, on international level. But except for a negligible few, none of the government of NAM members states has publicly uttered a single word about the savagery of Indian beasts in Kashmir. Perhaps only white persons torturing black to death is a crime in the eyes of NAM members and torturing to death of hundreds of Kashmiri freedom fighters by the occupying Indian forces is condonable because India is NAM members' 'moral leader' and 'political guru' hence stands absolved of all sorts of heinous deeds. What a mockery of otherwise tall claims of NAM members states and what a naked example of duplicity and double standards.

Notwithstanding my above harsh but true observation made more in anguish than in anger, I appeal to the Governments, the people and to the media of NAM member states in the name of NAM's aims and objectives, in the name of human and humanitarian values and in the name of their own tall claims of standing for right of selfdetermination of subjugated nations, to do a bit of heart searching about their present apathy and indifference towards Kashmiris' just struggle for their fully deserve and pledged right of self determination and about their turning of deaf ears of Indian savagery in Kashmir. 12 million Kashmiris (more in number than the individual populations of about 75 NAM member states) fully deserve support from NAM and its member states to their just struggle for their fully deserved and pledged right of self determination and steps from them conducive to compelling India to put an immediate end to the present savagery in Kashmir. We earnestly hope NAM member states will change their present attitude and fulfil their moral and constitutional obligation about Kashmir.



The Tribune, Chandigarh
August 22, 1990.

REAPING A WHIRLWIND IN KASHMIR

by Ajit Bhattacharya

"On

August 6, 10 persons were reported killed and a woman critically injured when BSF jawans forced their way into houses in Mashali Mohallah, Hawal and fired indiscriminately. Two houses were set on fire. The retaliation was provoked when militants attacked a BSF vehicle, injuring an officer. But the civilian deaths were not the outcome of immediate return fire. The BSF men returned two hours later to wreak indiscriminate reprisal. Among those killed was a man of 70 and a child

of seven. There were allegations of gang rape and of the BSF men preventing ambulances from taking the injured to hospital and fire tenders from extinguishing the blaze they had set. A case of murder and arson was registered against the BSF contingent."

"Worse happened four days later, with regular soldiers involved in this case. When eight jawans were killed in an ambush in Kupwara district, they returned later to kill at least 26 (unofficial reports said 45) civilians in a nearby village and set several houses on fire."

"On August 13, BSF men set several houses in another village in Kupwara district on fire after four of them were killed and 10 injured in an ambush nearby. A *Times of India* correspondent reached the scene in time to see smoke still billowing from the burnt houses. Many such cases must have gone unreported, which is worse because they would be magnified in rumours that resound through the Valley. The retaliatory killings are not of innocents 'caught in the cross-fire'. They are pre-meditated and indiscriminate attacks on anyone in the vicinity of a terrorist ambush."

"Can we also blame Prof. Saifuddin Soz, only representative of the Kashmir National Conference in the Lok Sabha, from complaining that the security forces are treating innocent people there as enemies, as he did on August 9?"

"The latest news reports give greater credence to the findings of the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir. The inquiry was conducted by a team of four women in June. Their report notes that the situation had deteriorated since the Committee's first report in March. 'The Valley', it states, 'is virtually under army rule and the civil administration seems to be helpless in checking the lawlessness of the security forces which have resulted in untold human suffering and growing alienation of the people there'."

"The report provides details of torture, abuse and harassment of citizens by the security forces that go against every right guaranteed by the Constitution and the legal process. Names, locations, dates and all other details are provided. The ugliest aspect of all is repeated assaults, including rape, on women, which demonstrates the gulf between the security forces and those to whom they are expected to provide security."

"Several detailed instances are given of these revolting crimes. One occurred on May 29 in Panzgam village in Pulwama district, where 'JKLF' was inscribed by children on the walls of two shops in chalk. A troop of soldiers entered the village, beat and tortured the men, molested women and ransacked property. Here is one case, among many, in

detail:

"Shameema, wife of Ali Mohammad Mizgar, alias Khan. Two army-men came and took Ali Mohammad away and tied him to a tree in front of the village shop. Then four army-men came back. Two of them took her into the house to conduct a search. Two men stood outside the house. As soon as she went in she was knocked down by the men. One put a rifle on her chest and other began to molest her. She resisted and began to shout. They forced her to go into the living room and open the cupboards. Before she could do that, they knocked her down again. A neighbour's ten year old child was sleeping. He was thrown out of the house. They tore her salwar and put a hanky on her mouth to stop her from shouting and raped her. She lost consciousness. Her husband came back and discovered her in this state."

"Due perhaps to the fact that the inquiry was by women, enough details are available of this and other incidents to warrant a court-martial. But neither the army nor the civil authorities seem to take notice of such grave offences. What conclusion are the Kashmiris to draw unless the guilty get the punishment they deserve..... except that the government connives at such crimes? The 'punishment' given to the senior police officer responsible for the CRPF firing on the crowd mourning the death of Mirwaiz Maulvi Ferooz, in which 42 persons were killed, was to transfer him as chief vigilance officer, Mazgaon docks, in Bombay!"



The India Week, Delhi.
August 24, 1990.

"MAR LOGE, YA PYAR DOGE?"

by N. V. Subramanian and Brj Raj Singh

On Friday, August 10, a motor and a foot column of the 6 Rajputana Rifles was ambushed two-and-a-half kilometers from Paazipora village in the Kupwara district of Kashmir. Allegedly in retaliation, some 80 army jawans set upon the Pazipora villagers—men, women and children—leaving behind a trail of death, rape and destruction of property. A report:

In Paazipora itself, reportedly justful jawans, not finding the militants, set out to ravage the women. Nearly 12 of the them, intuiting such intention, attempted swiftly to make a gateway—reached another village, Balipora, but were soon spotted by the jawans at the house of Saja, 60.

Saja, stringy and dispirited, now has clots under her eyes and on the right forearm to show for the spirited, but apparently vain, fight she put up against the jawans to thwart their bid to gang-

rape (it now turns out to be) six Kashmiri girls in their early 20s.

Three of them, Atiqa, Jana and Taja, separately and after much prodding, spoke to India Week in a cloistered room of a double-storey house way from the prying eyes of the villagers, most of whom know of the outrage but not of the identity of the victims.

Atiqa, 20, unmarried and illiterate, is unsure as she begins her narrative: "I ran away from home to Balipora, half a kilometre away, when I first heard the army came in. I was sitting in the verandah of Saja's house with the other escaped girls. Then the *jawans* came.

"I was taken to the cowshed with two other girls (Taja and Jana). My clothes were forcibly taken off. Then I was raped by three men. There were 20 to 30 soldiers standing outside, guarding the cowshed. More of them wanted to come in. But, suddenly, a whistle blew and they stopped."

Atiqa, who says she can recognise her rapists, is engaged to be married. What happened to it? "It is upto to God," says a police officer, uncomfortably and helplessly. "Her father has been hospitalised for over a month and her mother has no knowledge of Atiqa's tragedy."

Jana, 25, married but childless, in turn, faces possible rejection by her husband, a labourer who left for Srinagar eight days before the crime. She hasn't slept after it, gets recurrent nightmares, and says "I do not want to face this brutality any more, I do not want to see the face of my rapists."

Jana says: "Hearing the sound of the firing, I fled, not knowing if the military or the militant were responsible, I took shelter in Balipora alongwith my mother, my brother's wife and eight other girls, "Ten person" were present in the cowshed. We were all sitting in the courtyard when three girls were taken to the cowshed-the pretty ones were chosen, one of the being me. I cannot recognise the rapists, neither do I want to see them again." Says a villager, "If her husband is broadminded, he will keep her, otherwise...."

Taja, 22, the third of the girls to be raped, is assured of security to the extent that her husband, Bashir Ahmed Bhatt, has not turned her away. But the couple's plight, as indeed of Paazipora and perhaps countless other villages, is tellingly expressed in Bhatt's reply to Taja's admission or rape.

Taja recounted the conversation with her husband: "He said, I am helpless and this is no fault of yours. If you had given consent to what they did, I would have divorced you. But tell this to no one."

Taja says, after the firing began and she started off, like the others, in the direction of Balipora, the army jawans began chasing her. "I somehow eluded them and reached Saja's house where other army jawans forced me into the cowshed. I resisted but they pushed me in."

Taja continues: "They tried to take off my trousers and when I resisted, they tore it into shreds. Then the jawans asked me, *Mar loge ya pyar doge?* I said, *Maar do par pyar nahin denge*'. Then I was repeatedly raped. The clothes I wore were burnt in heap.

"What can I say now?" asks Taja, resignedly, withdrawing into herself in the unlighted room. "The biggest thing for me, my honour, has been taken away from me. I can recognise my rapists but I do not know who they are. When I was being raped, the sky and earth were also weeping."

Such assault on (Kashmiri) honours is compounded by Srinagar officialdom's widespread disbelief of the rape incidents, indeed of the whole carnage. On the day after, local press publicity to it, the state's director-general of police, Saksena, fully absolved the army of blame and claimed 12 militants had been killed in an encounter in Kupwara.

While the outrage is medically unproven, there appears no substantive reason to doubt the girls version. Their charge has, additionally, been bolstered by a first information report (FIR) registered by SHO Shah on approval from the superintendent of police, Kupwara, S.K. Mishra.

"My SP has done a good job," says Shah. "He allowed me to register a case against the army. Without that, I wouldn't have been able to do so."

Such self-congratulation is, of course, lost on Ali Mohammed Sheikh, the nursing orderly and middle farmer. "*Admi teen cheeze ke liye jeeta hai: izzat, jaan aur maal. Megar idhar, na hamari izzat mehfooz, na jaan mehfooz, na maal mehfooz. Hum jayen to jayen kahan? Kya hum us jagah jayen jahan khuda bhi na jata.*" (A man lives for three things: honor, life and property. But here none of their three is safe. Where do we go? To where even God does not enter).

Sheikh's seething anger against the army has another face, "*Humne fauj ki kya madad nahin ki? 1947 se lakar ab tak, hum ne unke saath picket banaye, kandha diya, yeh kaunsa haq rakhte hain jo aise dahshat phailate hain.*" (What help haven't we rendered to the army? From 1947 till now we have helped build their pickets, personally shouldered officers across rivers. What right do they have

to spread such terror)?

"*Jab assi saal ka aadmi militant ban sakta hai, to mera kya hai, main to 48 saal ka hoon.*" (When an 80-years of can become a militant, why not me? I am only 48 years old)." says Sheikh. "*Fauj lare jo unse larta hai. Agar hum militant hain to hamaara laash kutton ko dalo. Jab ham militant nahin hain to hame kyun sataya jata hai?* (The army should fight with those who fight against it. If we were militants they could have fed out bodies to the dogs. throw them among the refuse. But we are not militants. Why are they troubling us)?

Similarly is questioning Ghulam Ahmed Bhatt, a trade union leader of government employees, with great bluered scabs and clotted blood on his back to show for army brutality. Bhatt's 15-years old son was shot through the head in the fields, and his house was burnt.

"*Main India par khoob bharosa rakhat hoon,*" (I trust India), says Bhatt, "I have attended trade union meetings in Bombay and Bangalor. I told the jawans, see, this is my identity card, this is my curfew pass. But they retorted: *Bhund perakh apna identity card our curfew pass. humme sab kuch maloom hai. Tum tum sabh Pakistani ho* (Shove your identity card and curfew pass up your a... We know everything. You are all Pakistanis)."

Such sweeping assertion took in its net apparently nearly everyone: from a Paazi villager who has no use for his legs, yet has deep wounds on his back caused by rifle butts, to a 70-year old, retiree, who has self-advertising gashes on his forehead, reminder of an armed force gone berserk. "They kill us in our homes, they kill us when we leave it," says Bhatt. "What shall we do?"

The answer comes, as if with the winds. "*Jobhi zulm karte hain, jobhi militant bante hain,*" (When atrocities are committed, militants are made)," reckons a young villager in there swelling crowds at Paazipora principal *punchayat* clearing. The acquiescence is restrained but resonant.



India Week , Delhi.

August 24, 1990.

KASHMIR'S MISFORTUNE

by Bharat Karnad

The misfortune of Kashmir is that Delhi has treated the so-called Kashmiri leaders with kid gloves, afraid that to hold them accountable for sins of omission and commission would be to court the danger of turning them into pro-Pakistan activists and sympathisers. In the event, such experience as the Kashmiris have

had of elections (like those held in 1956, 1972, 1977 and 1987) and of elected leaders have been wholly unedifying. Democracy to the average Kashmiri is only another name for a notoriously flagrant system of election-rigging and enjoyment of spoils by the "victorious" politician and party with virtually no benefits accruing to the people.

To add insult to injury, chief ministers were installed and just as abruptly removed by Delhi because political considerations and not because they provided awful government. Even Sheikh Abdullah, the giant figure in contemporary Kashmir politics, was not spared this ignominy and neither were his successors.

President's Rule in the state has robbed the Kashmiris of even the deficient democracy they have got used to over the years. This is a disaster. What's worse from the point of winning the heart and the mind of the people is the police raj and the state of siege instead. As numerous human rights organisations have discovered and as our own investigations show, the police and the paramilitary forces and the jawans from the army, aiming to hand down the extremist and the secessionists, routinely end up preying on and victimising ordinary citizens, dishonouring women-folk, and otherwise carrying on as if Kashmir was an enemy zone captured in a war rather than a troubled province of the country that needs careful handling. The shame of it!

But a low intensity conflict is unlikely to prise Kashmiri away from India's grip. The grip is tight and a people can be held against their will. India's military muscle, ruthless police methods, and a cowed population can insure that in perpetuity. The question to ask is whether the Kashmiri people should not be given the choice to if not opt out the Indian Union, then at least to enjoy genuine democracy.

What will it cost? The jettisoning of the usual gang of discredited politicians and of the system of rigging elections? Encouragement to a new corps of leaders, grassroots level up, in the first free and fair elections to convince the Kashmiris to give the Indian Union another chance?

These political measures will have to be augmented with employment generating private and public sector ventures and schemes and the revival on a war-footing of the tourism industry - the lifeblood of the state, and policies more fully to mesh Kashmir with the rest of the country.

A hard, unremitting struggle against the terrorists is unavoidable, but the government should take care to see this fight does not degenerate into a halter-skeeter targeting and mistreatment of civilians. (One sure way to reign in soldiers and policemen is to

met--out exemplary punishment to those in uniform found responsible for egregious misbehaviour, especially against women, children and old people), The situation in Kashmir can still be salvaged but not if Delhi persists in its pigheaded belief of the *danda* along fetching results that sensible, quiet, political and economic policies piggybacking on sustained but humanely-executed anti-terrorist operation, can't.



India Week Delhi
August 24, 1990.

TABAH! MACHA DE HAI

by N. V. Subra Maniam

Charges of Excesses

Rape of women in search-and-combing operation usually in outlying, border district, physical violence against non-militants; willful destruction of property, principally torching homes with the use of an unidentified "white powder" and kerosene; and the forced "rounding-up of youth, numbering roughly 100 a day, valley-wide.

In a resolution of these possibly lies a solution, a respected Kashmir civil administrator ventures, yet unconvincingly. "We have to draw a line between the militants and civilians. Every Kashmiri is not a militant, most of them are neither violent nor pro-Pakistani"

"Give the Kashmiri an occasion," he says, "to give vent to his feelings. But that, the government and the ruling elite will not allow. Gen Zaki rushes to the spot when his boys are injured but keeps aloof when they go berserk." Lt. Gen. M.A.Zaki commands the XV Corps in the Srinagar sector.

Gen Zaki could not be reached for his reaction to such a damaging assessment, the Centre has made series of enquiries with regard to the Kupwara carnage and the amry's role.

Jameel Qureshi, security adviser to the state governor, however comes strenuously to its defence.

Kashmiris are loathe to accept such a view, so are certain senior officials seconded to the paramilitary forces. A top BSF official was particularly self-critical: "The allegations of rape are 100 per cent correct."

There are numerous incidents in Srinagar and in the other five valley districts of ambushed security forces retaliating as far as three-four kms away from the site the original shootout.

In Kupwara, the distance between the site of action and of

retaliation was two-and-a-half kms. More than week ago in Anantnag, a shootout at one end of the market proved at another end of it, retributive for a retired, 65-year-old school teacher, Ahmed Dar.

"Dar," says Muzaffar, a lawyer, "was coming home with rations, the only male of the family after his son's death. Obtaining a freedom from the Indian government, he now received a CRP bullet accurately in the forehead."

Three incidents of blind, unhinged action took place in the heart of Srinagar itself, last week. A CRP patrol attacked by militants and a couple of jawans apparently dies.

To teach an object-lesson, the wounded forces struck back a fair three kms off at Mashali Mohalla, torched one houses, and allegedly, selectively gunned down people unconnected with the first shootout.

On Monday, August 13, two Kashmiri sisters, Zuni and Zubeda, urgently set off to a doctor's prompting them a beat the curfew. Soon enough, a CRP mobile patrol unprovokedly opened fire on the two causing near-death.

On Friday, about 10.30 p.m., a perhaps edgy CRP picket in downtown Srinagar opened fire and killed a boy as he was running and did not apparently respond to their calls to halt.

Coincidentally, a top CRP officer we were visiting that night received the information and swiftly owned moral responsibility for the "wrong-doing", as he saw it, despite his subordinate staff officer's strong, contrary views.

After all then, next day's newspapers carried no mention of the accidental shootout, aside from the usual listing of the militant toll. "*Tabahi macha di hai idhar.*" (They have destroyed everything), said a local bureaucrat.

The administrator, as do others in the valley, inform that parents are trepidant of sending their, children to schools fearing being picked up for interrogation by the security forces.

Protective Parents

On the rare day, curfew was unimposed, say, in Srinagar, family members were seen commonly, protectively dropping off the youngster ones at, or picking them up from school. The bureaucrat exclaimed: "It has become a crime to be young."

Of their rounding up, there are stories galore: a local press

photographer reveals his brother, a civil servant freshly posted to Srinagar, was taken in by the CRP for defying them by option for the shorter of two queues for cinema tickets.

A chubby, state-government employee sitting by the photographer's side says his brother, too, was taken away by the CRP after routine search of their family home yielded nothing.

"I have repeatedly asked CRP officers at the airport detention centre to level charges against him, but they don't *Mahine se upar sarkari roti kha raha hai, maze main hai* (He has been eating food supplied by the state for over a month. He is enjoying himself)," the officer says.

Thousands of other allegedly have not been so fortunate, coming out of their detentions broken in body (standardly: an arm or leg), but bolstered in mind (usually: the militant way).

"*Uthakar ladkon ko Jammu le jaate hain.*" (They take there boys to Jammu), says an IAS officer who, vainly, petitioned the governor to secure, as a goodwill gesture, the token release of a few hundred detenus on Independence Day.

"Who are the boys who interrogate them?" the officer asks, and answers: "Non-Muslims. Who are the jawans? Non-Muslim. So the incarcerated youth thinks everyone is against him because he is Muslim.

Communal Colour

Indeed, a large section of the population has, not without reason, tagged a strong communal colour to nearly every action of the security forces (contributing to the fundamentalising of an otherwise very-liberal Kashmiri Sufi Muslim society).

"*Agar hum Khan dress phente hain jib se baithne mein asaani hoti hai, to hamen CRP peethti hai.*" (If we wear the Khan dress, which is comfortable, the CRP jawans thrash us" says Tak. The force also takes objection to resident nomenclaturing Anantnag as Islamabad, the district's original name predating the Pakistani capital by well-nigh three-quarters of century.

"*Logon ko,*" says the advocate, "*bus mein pakadte hai, poochete hai, kahan jaana hai? Jab woh kahte hain Islamabad, yani ki Anantnag, to CRP jawan unhe peethte hai.*" (If a bus passenger says he going to Islamabad, meaning Anantnag, he is be laboured by the CRP).

A senior CRP officer confirmed this, saying, "We have told our boys to let Islamabad pass, it is valid. But you know how it is.

Such official finesses is lost both on the "boys" and one the targetted populace. After the Khan dress and Islamabad, the CRP has now tuned anathemic to the full beard that every third Kashmir Muslim sports.

Sheikh Sanaullah, 50, fierce-looking and alone, unafraid to give his name in Srinagr's Rainwari locality, says: "*Dadhi rakhne par pakadte hain aur peethte hain, Blade se dodhi kaat lete hain. yeh kahan ka insaff hai?*" (If we keep a beard, they beat us, cut it off with a blade. What kind of justice is this)?

What, above everything, Kashmirs reckon is singularly balsephemous is the unfailing imposition of Friday, prayer-time curfew which has made Srinagar's princia; jama Masjid out of the bounds for them for nearly half-a-year now.

To check out first hand, "*India Week*" visited the imposing grand mosque Friday last, passing through curfewed main roads which provide access to it. The only sounds issuing from the mosque premises were of barking dogs.

In the funeral atmosphere prevailing, CRP janwans patrolled the perimeter while within, an ungainly lock adorned the imposing main door of the Jama Masjid. A district police officer said the lock had been placed by the Awami Action Committee and smiled and ducked when asked to explain the desertion.

Said a bureaucrat: "I am myself not a religious man but for one who is (pointing to an elderly guest), a Friday curfew can be taken to be a direct attack on his religion. Only in Kashmir do women go to mosques and for months, they have not visited Jama Masjid, Even my wife says, *Kya sarkar chala rahe ho?* (What kind of government are you running)?

The official explanation is that there is no willful attempt to keep *namazis* off their mosques: this is true of most of Srinagar's 700 mosques which lie in the un-curfewed interiors. But not so of Jama Masjid, accessed largely from CRP patrolled main roads.



The Suddeutsche Zeitung, Munich
August 29, 1990.

KASHMIR

The bloody civil war on the outskirts of the Himalayas' that "A terrible demon is raging in the valley of harmony- The brutal behavior of soldiers, who were sent by the government in Delhi to fight the Muslim guerrillas, intensifies separatism in the Indian state," written by Olaf Ihlau states that "the Governor talks about the necessity of humanitarianism. But he also mentions that the agony should not be extended and that, if necessary,

common-sense should be Hammered into the boys.' Delhi's Viceroy loves to use the expression 'boys' when he describes, in a casual manner, what is happening in the valley of Kashmir for months, as if he was talking about a cricket match: 'The boys can cause us difficulties, but they have really no chance to win the things,' says the Governor with a smile on his small intellectual face. "

"The description 'thing' is very harmless for a bloody clash which is intensifying week after week in that part of the subcontinent which used to be the Garden of Eden. At least 1,200 persons have been killed in the confrontation between secessionist Muslim rebels and units of the India security forces or the army since the beginning of this year. The 'Kashmir Times' will write on the next day that it was 'mostly peaceful' on Sunday. In the last 24 hours, only 13 persons, were shot and eight beheaded bodies fished out of the Jhelum river near Baramulla - presumably police spies executed by underground fighters."

"The unspeakable narrow-mindedness of the Indians as well as terrible social conditions facilitated this subversion idea. After the three wars with Pakistan, Delhi no longer wanted to know anything about Nehru's promise to permit the holding of a plebiscite on the future state affiliation in the Valley. The special autonomous status, which the Indian constitution grants Kashmir, was systematically undermined. Corruption, the gross preferential treatment of Hindus for the few jobs in public offices and bold election manipulations stirred up rebellion among Muslims. There is open unrest since 1987. Delhi's massive steps of repression have in the meantime expanded into a conflict which, in its brutality, makes Israel's problems with the Palestinian Intifa appear almost harmless, because rival Muslims are not throwing stones at each other, but are using bombs, Kalashnikovs and rockets against the military superpower. The demon has returned to the lovely Valley.

"As occupants, the 250,000 men of the Indian Army, border protection and security police, ordered by Delhi to Kashmir, are practicing a policy of Strong hand and scorched earth. The imposed state of emergency gives even young officers the right to fire on suspects and to have houses demolished. "

"It was about three weeks, ago, on a Wednesday, when the Indian military convoy with 52 vehicles passed Pattan. One jeep drove too quickly across a speedbrake so that a bullet was let off by the gun of one soldier. Other soldiers thought that they were under sniper fire and shot at whatever moved in the village. In the end, eight villagers were dead and 17 seriously injured. None of the soldiers were injured nor had they caught any terrorist, 'because there were no terrorists in this area', reports the village elder Ghulam Nabi, a large farmer filled with hate. 'They questioned eight of our people and beat them half dead.'

"We are in another village, in Wata Magam, en route to the former tourist centre Gulmarg, where a young woman is sitting next to the ruins of her burned house. She is cleaning a few pots and it is difficult for her to tell the

story of what happened to her and the village three weeks ago. This time, a command of the underground fighters fired on a patrol of the border protection force without hitting any body. Two hours later, with the guerrillas having left long ago, a battalion of soldier return and opened fire. The young woman took her three small children and ran into the woods. She noticed that her uncle was unable to follow because he had been hit by a bullet in the leg and had collapsed. One of the neighbours who was unable to flee because he remained with sick mother, says: They covered him with hay and burnt him alive. They shot a 19 year boy before the eyes of his parents, though he had raised his hands.' It is obvious to the visitor that most houses of this village were burnt. This official version in newspapers was that four persons were killed 'in self-defence' in the hunt on terrorists by security troops of the CRPF.

"Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi has such attacks in his mind when he says angrily that the Indian soldiers in Kashmir are 'worse animals than the troops of Chenghis Khan. The lawyer, who used to be the highest judge at the High Courts of Allahbad and Srinagar, knows what he is talking about. In a bookcase which is full of files, he has documented 'the alarming extent of human rights violations', for which he blames the Indian government. 'State terrorism is the worst form of terrorism,' says' the white bearded Mufti and complains about the complete. collapse of administration and justice, in which 2383 complaints against arbitrary arrests were disregarded. Is this not called occupation?' The Mufti reports about an alarming increase Is this not called occupation?' The Mufti reports about an alarming increase of rapes in raids of the 'Soldateska', a crime which used to be almost unknown in the Valley. He accuses the Governor of arresting juveniles from the street to intimidate them. Without any legal paper and without informing their parents, they are kept for weeks. They are questioned and tortured under degrading circumstances and suddenly set free so that they are suspected of being spies. All this leads Mufti Farooqi to doubt 'that given the high degree of estrangement a political settlement within the framework of the Indian constitution would be acceptable to the citizens of the Valley."

"Political settlement? Abdul Hamid Sheikh considers this as 'honey and poison'- They Kashmiris were betrayed too often by India. This is now an open war 'and we are prepared to fight for our independence upto the last man.' Great words. Yet the man who says this, is not a boaster, but the most wanted terrorist in the Valley. As Vice Commander of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front (JKLF), Hamid directs the actions of the strongest and most effective underground organisation, which commits most attacks."



The Hindu , Madras.
August 31, 1990.

"A senior Border Security Force (BSF) officer posted in Kashmir has been repatriated to the home State for incurring the wrath of his superiors. The officer reportedly took 'seriously' some instance of repression by his own

men and wanted them punished for going beyond the ambit of the law."

"The Officer is not the only one who has found himself at the receiving end there are others, several belonging to the Jammu and Kashmir Police, who have been shunted or are being shunted out of the State."

"The officer had taken seriously a case of alleged rape by security forces on the Anantnag-Kokernag road in May."

"Local police officers visited the spot and spoke to the victims. First Information Report (FIR) was filed in which BSF personnel were named. A medical examination reportedly found tell-tale evidence of criminal assault on the women."

"A report was also sent by the BSF officer affected in the case to his superiors. Who also brought similar pressure to alter the story."

"The story was not altered and the officer is believed to have "paid" for his perseverance."



*Muslim India, New Delhi.
August 1990.*

NOT BY FORCE **by Kewal Verma**

We as a nation have begun to genuinely believe that Pakistan is at the root of all our troubles-terrorism and secessionism in Kashmir and Punjab and communal riots in the rest of the country. Hence, the solution lies in teaching Pakistan a lesson, but who is responsible for terrorism in Assam? China? If so, then declare a war against China.

We are nation of self-deceivers. We have no ability to do a rigorous socio-political analysis and identify the real sources of our troubles. Our intellectual lethargy and ideological differences tend to put the entire blame on outsiders for all our problems.

It is not to say that India has no enemies. But these adversaries do not create problems, they only fish in our troubled waters and compound our troubles.

Did Pakistan start...The Ram Janambhoomi-Babri Masjid controversy and organise Ram Shila *pooja* all over India? Similarly, did Pakistani propaganda turn Kashmir Muslims en masse against India? Kashmiri Muslims opted to join India in the belief that this country would remain secular. They acceded to Gandhi's India, Nehru's India and not to Golwalkar's India, not to Shayama Prasad Mukherjee's India. When India is increasingly turning communal,

that trust is betrayed. Only a secular India can keep Kashmir within it democratically. A communalised India can keep Kashmir only by force.

A contemporary magazine concludes its reportage on Kashmir: "In Kashmir--where the Centre has invested some Rs. 70,000 crores in subsidies, not to speak of the blood of Indian soldiers in two wars--the nation faces, what is perhaps the gravest challenge to the idea on which its integrity is moored. There are no soft options left. And temporary revers must not be allowed to invert the process of sustained reclamation. The country can no longer afford to behave like a tenant on a notice to vacate somebody else's property."

If this is the attitude we have towards Kashmir, then God help this 'country'. For this policy does not spell out the ways of winning the minds of the Kashmir people.

The dangers of such a Kashmir policy are commanded by the fact that Pakistan is engineering communal riots in India... If not countered, it will make every Muslim a suspect and people will rally around the BJP's slogan: "Save Bharat Mata, Hindutva is the solution."



The Times, London.
September 4, 1990.

INDIAN FORCES BURN SHOPS

by Christopher Thomas

"Iqbal market, a maze of poor shops selling everything from stores to cooking pots, was partly destroyed. A long row of shops in the main street was also burned down. A two-day curfew was imposed. Security forces set light to our premises and would not let the fire brigade come, 'one shop owner said. The fire went on for nine hours. Firemen were allowed to come when we said one of the shops was owned by a Hindu, which was a lie. "

"The arson attack, on July 26, was carried out by the Central Reserve Police Force, a non-Kashmiri paramilitary body that spearheads the security operation against militant Muslim secessionists in the Kashmir Valley. "

"Sopore's shopkeepers are not alone in feeling the wrath of the security forces. A Kashmiri human rights committee has sent a detailed report to Amnesty International that paints a picture of harsh and indiscriminate repression. The Valley says, the report, 'is passing through a nightmare. "

"The Jammu and Kashmir people's basic rights (protection) committee, headed by the former chief justice of the State, says that each day brings more atrocities. It has details of many cases of rape, torture, beatings, arson

and theft."

"The committee said it had visited some prisoners who were held in cells 4 ft by 6 ft."

"A community leader said: 'There is not a man, woman or child here who does not support the militants.' He showed a long list of applications from businesses for compensation after the arson attack, but nobody seriously expects- to be compensated."

"A houseboat owner who says he has not paid the loan on his boat for more than a year, says the winter will be the hardest since the turmoil of partition in 1947. 'We have no money for fuel to keep warm. We must try to live on rice and perhaps a few green vegetables.'"

"The Indian government is to investigate charges of 'excess' by security men fighting Muslim secessionists, including allegations of rap or molestation."



The Daily Observer, Oman.
September 5, 1990

IMAGE OF PEACE-LOVING KASHMIRIS SHATTERED

by Ruth Pitch Ford

"Kashmiris have learned to listen with authority to nightly gun battles but with disbelief to the ensuing low official casualty tolls."

"Indian officials claim to be smashing militant groups. Kashmiri Muslims, seeking independence or merger with neighbouring Pakistan, claim the militants are crushing Indian morale."

"Kashmiris Muslims are unanimous that the militants' campaign is the outcome of 40 years of Indian complacency about their demands for a democratic vote on Kashmir's future."

"Kashmiris say India agreed to UN resolutions in 1948 and 1949 calling for a plebiscite to determine Kashmir's future."

"In practice there are thousands of Kashmiri youths, without jobs and swept up in the anti-Indian fervor, ready to pick up the guns which both sides agree have been smuggled into the Valley in large quantities."

"Some 1,000 people have been killed since the Muslims of the Kashmir Valley rose in January against Indian rule. Both sides agree most of the dead were civilians but everything else is disputed. Officials say most were killed by militants as informers. Kashmiris say most died when security forces

fired on demonstrators, rampaged through homes in revenge for militant ambushes, or seized young men from the streets of Srinagar to shoot them dead as "intruders" on the Pakistani border. "



The Sunday Observer, India.

September 9, 1990.

by Bhushan Bazaz

"That atrocities perpetrated by our para-military forces on the innocent people of the Valley have crossed all limits and the government is maintaining a studied silence over the prevailing situation. "

"Governor Girish Chander Saxena claims to have seized both arms and militants each morning but fails to report to the Centre the butchery that is being committed on men in their sixties and seventies and how young women have to face all kinds of harassment. "



[The Independent 15, Sept. 1990.

Big guns blaze in Kashmir

As the traditional season for wars between India and Pakistan begins, heavy skirmishing is under way in one crucial sector along their disputed border in Kashmir. Up to 3,500 artillery shells have been fired in a single day, in what is described as the most serious military escalation between the two countries since the uprising in Indian-controlled Kashmir began last January.

Pakistani offerers said the Indians are trying to stem the tide of Kashmiri refugees fleeing to Azad Kashmir. Some 8,000 refugees, including 1,000 women and children, have come through Kel alone the past eight months. The Indians say that Kel is a major crossing point for thousands of Kashmiri militants who are now in Pakistani Kashmir, acquiring weapons and training from Pakistan. Islamabad has denied these charges, but thousands of young Kashmiri militants are being housed in refugee camps in Pakistani Kashmir.

On the Pakistani side, villages have been smashed in the shelling and the terrified villagers have fled. "Help us, tell the world, our lives are destroyed," said Gul Khandan, headman of Chaknot village, whose 1,600 people are now living in the forests after shelling them to flee. He is now petitioning the Pakistani Kashmir government for compensation.

India now has some 250,000 troops in Kashmir, and along the border company formations have been reinforced with entire brigades, officers said. Pakistan has more than 100,000 troops in Kashmir. Although the army refuses to disclose casualties, 12 wounded Pakistani soldiers and 15 civilians are lying in the military hospital in Muzaffarabad.

The effects of the uprising in Indian Kashmir are now horribly visible in Pakistani Kashmir. Three days ago, villagers pulled a mutilated baby out of the Jhalum, which also passes through Indian Kashmir. Dead bodies now Hundereds of refugees have arrived from Indian Kashmir in the past few days with tales of repression by Indian troops. Their bodies are scarred from beating and with electrode marks, there are broken bones, and many women have been raped.



Al-Safa Srinagar
September 18, 1990

**A MIGRANT KASHMIRI HINDU EXPOSES
 THE CONSPIRACY**
 by editor

Dear Editor,

Kindly allow me to draw the kind attention of Kashmiri Muslim brothers, through the columns of your esteemed daily, towards the miseries, hardships and the exploitation of their Kashmiri Pandit brothers. I know that my community has lost the affection, love, respect and the good will of the Kashmiri Muslims for having betrayed them very recently. I feel ashamed to admit that my community has stabbed the Kashmiri Muslims in the back. This all happened at the insistence of former governor Jagmohan, some self-styled Pandit leaders and Hindus fundamentalist organizations exploited the situation and the Kashmiri Pandits became refugees, in their own homeland. I think it will be better to narrate the events, that took place, that led to the mass migration of the "Kashmiri Pandits" from the valley.

In the first week of February 1990, a word was sent to the members or the Pandit community in Kashmir and they were asked to migrate to safer places. This message from the former governor Jagmohan was conveyed to the Pandit community through some self styled Pandit leaders. Pandits were told that the government had plans of killing about one lakh to one lakh fifty thousand Kashmiri Muslims particularly, the youth in order to over come the uprising against India. Pandit were assured that they would be looked after well, that they would be provided relief, free ration jobs and free accommodation. Pandits were assured the once the proposed massacre of the Kashmiri Muslims was completed and the movement was curbed, they would be sent back to the valley. that is how most of the Pandits left. My community now understands that it was merely made a scapegoat and it was a very crude way of painting the mass uprising against India as nothing but a communal flare up. Indian government tried to fool the world by telling members of the world community that the uprising against India

was in fact the handiwork of some misguided Muslim fundamentalists who had turned against non-Muslims and had thrown them out of their homes.

To start with, Pandits were treated well and a lot of sympathy was shown for them. Very soon, the scenario changed and things have become very difficult for the Pandit community. Our community is looked down upon and Pandits are now treated as nothing but parasites. Even those Kashmiri Pandits who are settled here call us refugees even though they also queue up for free ration and the relief. the locals treat us as invaders and behave like that. Abnormal rates are charged for milk, vegetables, grocery and other things of daily use. Even the house rent has sky rocketed. Imagine the rent for a room of 10 x 12 dimensions is around rupees one thousand to twelve hundred. You can very well understand the plight of members of the Pandit community under these circumstance.

Our young men have become vagabonds because they have nothing to do except for roaming on the roads. some of our young men have taken to drugs because of great mental and emotional turbulence. Our women are treated like whore and prostitutes. people from this (Jammu) region are under the impression that shortage of money is a sufficient reason for our young women to sell their bodies and honour.

This change in the scenario should have brought our self-styled leaders to their senses but it seems that they have learnt nothing from these events and the sufferings of their community. It is quite clear that they have completely sold themselves, heart and soul, to the Hindu fundamentalists organizations like the B.J.P and the Shive Sena and are speaking their language. some of these self-styled leaders are still harping on the demand for the abrogation of article 370. some of them are issuing idiotic statements for reconquering Kashmir so that Indian tricolour is hoisted on every roof top of Kashmir and "*Bande Matram*" is sing in every lane of Kashmir. Some self-styled Pandit leaders, at the behest of their masters, are harping on the BJP. and Shive Sena formula of changing the Muslim majority character of the state. I demand that these traitors of our nation should be stoned to death. I also appeal to every Kashmiri Pandit not to become a prey of such malicious propaganda and denounce these self styled leaders.

Kindly convey our hand folded respects to the "Mujahdeen" of our nation. Kindly convey our hand folded respects to all our brothers and sisters. We salute their courage and their valour.

Sincerely Yours.

K.L.Koul, "CHAMAN" Chanpora. Srinagar.

At present: Nagrota Camp, Jammu,



Pakistan Times, Islamabad,

September 18, 1990

VIOLATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS IN KASHMIR

by NAJAM ABBAS

The Indian forces are carrying out a deliberated plan to persistently victimize the Kashmiri youth who actively support demand to hold a plebiscite in Kashmir. The Indian government clearly understands that the youth are the driving forces behind the present political uprising, so Delhi is bent upon knock 'them out'. Security personnel terrorise, arrest and even kill Kashmir youth to bow down the liberation movement into submission. Out of many measures to weaken the peoples will one is to drive the active youth out of Kashmir, thus denying the liberation movement any support from its most supportive element.

In a legislation introduced in the US Senate on April 26, Senator Dan Burton has said that thousands of government critics are being held without charge under act of terrorist and disruptive act. The legislation seeks to terminate US development assistance to Delhi until the Indian government allows human right organizations to monitor human rights conditions in Kashmir and elsewhere. Amnesty International has recieved numerous reports of torture in Indian prisons of incidents of deaths under mysterious circumstances of many prisoners.

In addition to that, the Indian forces are parcing the policy to threat, arrest, or even kill those who continue to support the demand for a plebiscite.

Many neutral observers in India have pointed out the atrocities of the Indian forces in Kashmir in recent months. A recent example is a report by the "Indian committee for initiative on Kashmir" on violation of human rights in the disturbed valley. Its investigation team found that these abuses were carried by the officials from law-enforcing agencies, the central Reserve Police Force (CRPF), the Border Security Forces (BSF), and in certain incidents, by the Indian army personnel. The committee's report notes that during Jag Mohan's second term as the Delhi intalled governor to Kashmir, reression was unleashed on a massive scale in the history of the hapless heaven. Accounts of eye-witnesses as well as some government officials speak of arbitrary arrests, unlawful searches, unprovoked offense on protestors, assaults on women and indiscriminate killings. Under these circumstances many young men had no option but to leave their hometown. Hundreds braved the snowy mountains last winter to seek refuge in Pakistan. Many of them got their feet frost - bitten and several others died as they were driven out of their hearths and gear for rugged travel. During his

five frightening months as the Delhi's deputed administrator in the Kashmir Valley governor Jagmohan sought to drive hundred of such youth out of Kashmir's jurisdiction.

The Front Line, Madras .
September 29, 1990.

THE FLEEING PUNDITS

by Amit Baruah

The flight of Kashmiri Pandits from the valley is a tragic commentary on inter-community relations in the State. It has ruptured the cultural links between the two communities.

According to information given in Parliament recently, till end July, 48, 894 migrant families were registered in the Jammu region and 11, 438 in Delhi. The other figures were: Uttar Pradesh (857), Rajasthan (61), Haryana (94), Maharashtra (39), Punjab (1,293), Chandigarh (216), Madhya Pradesh (75), Himachal Pradesh (66) and Gujrat (54).

But there is a flip side as well. Several Kashmiri Pandit families continue to live quietly with support from their Muslim neighbours both in the rural and urban areas; their existence is low-key and they do not want to attract attention to themselves.

Prithvi Nath of Nunar village, off the Srinagar-Leh highway, is one such who has stuck on, with his family of six. "There is no difference now and then for my family," he told frontline. A little apprehensive initially, as almost everyone is in the Valley these days, Prithvi Nath gradually opened up. An employee of the Public Works Department, he said some 60 to 70 Pandit families had fled in March. Why did he not go? "I have never had any problems with my neighbours. *Yeh to hamare paap hain ki is tarah ki sitihi yahan ban gayi hai* (it is our sin that has created such a situation in the valley)", he said.

Another Pandit, whose family lives in Nunarr, is Som Nath. "My wife, my father, we are all living hers. *Yahan par aise log hain jo hamare upar marte hain* (There are people in the village who are ready to sacrifice all for us)." He is, however, not able to say why several families belonging to his community had left. Som Nath works in the Irrigation Department apart from being a farmer. He said he had been attending to his work as usual. "The fields of the Pandits who have left the village are lying there. Their houses are as they had been left. No one has touched them," he said, sitting outside his house.

Ghulam Mohammad sof, a local shopkeeper, is one of some Nath's closest friends. Several villagers said they (the Muslims) had offered to protect the Pandits. "As far as we are concerned nothing has changed," Sofi said.

The families of Som Nath and Prithvi Nath are not the only ones staying out in the areas. There are others, though few in number, proving that amicable community relations are not a thing of the past in the valley. Even in the urban areas a sprinkling of Pandit families continues to live alongside their Muslim neighbours.

Even in Srinagar prominent citizens made efforts to persuade the minority Pandits not to leave. A small committee was formed for the purpose, but the efforts were unsuccessful. Governor Jagmohan, it is alleged, encouraged the migration

A senior state government official said the Pandits have been visiting their houses in Shivpora, Indira Nagar and Sonawar colonies. "About a month ago 60 percent of houses of pandits were occupied. None of the houses have been taken over. Not a single lock has been broken," the official maintained



New York Times,
September 29, 1990.

IN KASHMIR'S ENCHANTED VALLEY, WAR BREAKS SPELL by Barbara Crossette

Just before 4 P.M., traffic in the center of this tormented city comes to a standstill for about 20 minutes to let a few buses pass. The buses take Hindu government employees from their sandbagged offices to their safe dormitories, separated from Muslim Kashmir troops in battle gear.

In the stalled traffic, a visitor has time to take stock of what has happened in less than a year to the valley where, Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote, "loveliness dwells and enchantment steals over the senses."

The gingerbread-trimmed house-boats on Dal Lake lie silent, with no tourists to rent them. The shop of Dalgate in Srinagar that remain open are also empty, except for a few salespeople chatting to each other to pass the time. Banks and schools are closed in support of state government employee's strike.

A SULLEN STANDOFF

Kashmiris, taken an independence that many now acknowledge can never be won by force of arms, have sunk into a sullen standoff with New Dehli.

Indian paramilitary troops stand guard on nearly every street corner, rifles pointed chest-high at passers-by venturing out to shop or visit friends.

Behind the walls edging narrow lanes, armed guerrillas move with ease, shielded by a largely sympathetic population. Each side accuses the other of terrorizing civilians.

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At his home in a quiet residential neighbourhood patrolled by troops in combat uniforms, Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi, a former chief Justice of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court, said "half a generation" have been destroyed by Indian military swoops. Thousands of young people have been detained, hundreds of all ages killed in whole neighborhoods and villages torched by troops, he said.

[On Oct. 1, Indian troops burned down 400 houses and shops and killed at least 20 people in the town of Handwara, 46 miles from Srinagar, said Indian reporters at the scene. The troop, from the paramilitary border security force, were said to have been retaliating after a grenade was thrown at one of their patrols. The government has set up a court of inquiry.]

They are going around like vultures jumping on the 13-to-30 age group," Mr. Farooqi said, adding that 3,000 habeas corpus petitions were pending in Srinagar alone.

EXCESSIVE FORCE ACKNOWLEDGED

Mr. Saxena, former head of the research and Analysis Wing, India's equivalent of the United States Central Intelligence Agency, runs the state with sweeping powers. Jammu and Kashmir has been declared a "disturbed area."

He acknowledges that the powers Indian troops possess are sometimes misused, but adds that they operate under severe provocation.

In an interview, Mr. Saxena said that there had been excessive use of force in some cases and that this was heightening the alienation of Kashmiris. "We have taken very serious notice of these charges," Mr. Saxena said. "We have suspended people and are prosecuting them." Thirty cases are being investigated, including manslaughter, arson and the molestation of women, he said.

"Where we find innocent people have suffered, we give them compensation," he added.

Kashmiris acknowledge that in Governor Saxena, who was appointed to the post in May, the militants fighting for independence have a formidable foe,

skilled in guerrilla warfare tactics and counterinsurgency. By August, half a dozen important guerrillas have been arrested.

IN KASHMIR'S ENCHANTED VALLEY, WAR BREAKS SPELL

By BARBARA CROSSETE (*New York Times* - 29-Sept.1990)

Just before 4 P.M., traffic in the center of this tormented city comes to a standstill for about 20 minutes to let a few buses pass. The buses take Hindu government employees from their sandbagged offices to their safe dormitories, separated from Muslim Kashmir troops in battle gear.

In the stalled traffic, a visitor has time to take stock of what has happened in less than a year to the valley where, Jawaharlal Nehru once wrote, "loveliness dwells and enchantment steals over the senses."

The gingerbread-trimmed house-boats on Dal Lake lie silent, with no tourists to rent them. The shops of Dalgate in Srinagar that remain open are also empty, except for a few salespeople chatting to each other to pass the time. Banks and schools are closed in support of state government employee's strike.

A SULLEN STANDOFF

Kashmiris, taken an independence that many now acknowledge can never be won by force of arms, have sunk into a sullen standoff with New Delhi.

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The Front Line, Madras .

September 29, 1990.

KASHMIR VICTIMIZED

by Amit Baruah

From December last year, when militant operations began in earnest, to the September, killing of 22 extremists at Thune Village on the Srinagar-Leh highway, much water has flowed down the Jehlum. The conflict has been elevated to the status of a war; officials prefer to call it an 'invisible war. Responsible officials talk of wars and battles, phraseology not used in the early months of the conflict. Today, personnel of the Central Reserve Police Force and the Border Security Force and the army can be seen almost everywhere in the valley: from the narrow by-lanes of Srinagar to remote picturesque villages.

Yet another feedback from the valley; no section of the population is with the authorities, not even the State Government employees, who have reacted vehemently to the actions of the

security forces.

And the crux of the problem lies in the ever-widening gulf between the people and authorities. There is no meeting ground between the vast majority of the people and the government, which makes no distinction between militants and innocents. Think-tanks feel the people can be beaten into submission. But the dangers of using the security force for an indefinite period are there for all to see.

The common man is see thing with anger against the security forces; atrocities have certainly been committed. The people do exaggerate, the local press does play up incident, but even a senior police official admitted; "In such an operational scale, one cannot conform to the rules of the game."

But none does not know if this explanation is satisfactory. Till now, not a single Kashmiri family affected by the trouble has accepted any relief from the state. And it appears unlikely that they will do so in future. If anything, the continued actions of the security forces have hardned their attitude towards the Government.

The fate of a senior India Police Service (IPS) officer of the Kashmir cadre reveals the differences in the approach to the situation. Veerana Aveli, a 1966 batch officer, who was Deputy Inspector General (Anantnag), did not impose curfew on the town after the security forces opened fire on March 1. He informed one of the advisors to the governor that there was no need to impose curfew as there had been no demonstration, there had been no reaction after the incident. The advisor seemed pleased. But Aveli had a rude shock in store for him. Soon afterwards he was told that curfew must be imposed as Governor Jagmohan wanted to "pursue a uniform policy everywhere." The officer tried to explain that there was no provocation to clamp curfew. Aveli was taken aback when another advisor to the governor landed in Anantnag and told him bluntly, "We were thinking of promoting you, but in view of your defiance....." Aveli did not last long in Anantnag. He has vast experience in policing in the state, but unfortunately his tactics were not the same as those running the state.

Time, that all important factor, is running out in Kashmir. And, to state the obvious, the clock cannot be turned back. The people are not with the Government though officials are happy the Valley does not reverberate to cries of Aazadi. But that sentiment is not far away; it is liable to pop up any time.

And how do the people feel about the issue? An ex-serviceman, speaking of the attitude of the security forces, said; "the

more you hate us, the more we will rise againstt you." The agitated old man had been ill-treated by a security man while he was going to his fields. The attitude, the "arrogaince." of the security forces gets the Kashmiri emotionally worked up. "We have seen the real (colours) of India. We are not going to go back now. "Pointing to the shoes worn by this reporter, the old man said: "You know, we cannot wear such shoes. Our children cannot wear jeans, otherwise they will be picked up for (being) militants,"

Pointing to the rough skin of his feet, another person said that if anyone was found with broken skin, the security personnel said it was because of frost bite, which led to the most "probable conclusion" that the man had crosed the border and was a trained militant. Some agitated person said: "You go and write this, we are all militants here, men and women. We do not believe in Indian democracy, "Another complaint against the secuity forces was that they took away money from the villagers. Women who used to go to the forest for cutting wood have stopped doing so because of the fear of molestation.

The confrontation between the insurgents and the security forces is a hard reality. Attacks by militants have made life difficult for security personnel manning the odd, isolated picket in rural Kashmir or patrolling a hostile lane in downtown Srinagar.

The finger is always close to the trigger in Kashmir, a delayed reaction can cost a security man his life. Be it in a patrol vehicle or at a lonely picket, the self-loading-rifle (SLR) has to be on the ready. The difference today is that the security forces are present in strength to reply to militant action. But, it is also a fact that when the number of youth trained in the use of arms was counted in a few hundred at the begining of the year, the figure today is in thousand.



India Today, Delhi.
September 30, 1990.

KASHMIR: A SUBTLE SHIFT

by Harinder Baweja

There was curfew in May, there is curfew now. There were killings in May, there are killings now. Police vehicles were ambushed in May, they continue to be. Innocents fell prey to militants and security forces then, they do so still.

Yet, there is a change in Kashmir, a subtle, almost indiscernible change, that is often attributed to the different styles of the two governors, who have ruled the state this year-Jagmohan, who reigned for five months till end-May and Girish Saxena, who

has completed almost four months in office. And perhaps learning from Jagmohan's mistakes, Saxena has refrained from imposing curfew on Fridays, a day when people gather at Sringar's Jama Masjid or Hazrat-Bal shrine for prayers and then take out a procession to the UN office. As in the past, such processions are still stopped before they reach the UN office, but instead of seeking a confrontation as earlier, the administration now drives down UN representatives to meet the processionists and take their memorandum.

So, does governor Saxena have a soft touch where Jagmohan adopted a hard line? Look again and compare the death tolls of April and July. Twenty innocents and 34 militants were killed in April, while 58 innocents and 106 terrorists died in July. The truth is that since Saxena took over the death toll in Valley has shot up.

Yet, if despite the hard facts, the average Kashmiri considers Jagmohan the bigger villain, it is largely because of his personal style and the situation when he took over. For one, he arrived in the Valley when the pro-Azadi [Liberation Lovers] movement was at its peak. Curfew or no curfew, crowds of thousands daily poured into the streets and shouted anti-India slogans. The people truly believed that Azadi was round the corner. The local police sympathised with the secessionists. The Pandits were fleeing en masse. The administration had collapsed and it was the militants' writ that ran in the Valley. Besides, it was India's first real effort to deal with urban guerrilla warfare as against the more rural-based militancy of Punjab and the North-east. In that context, Jagmohan was something of a guinea-pig.

Saxena too inherited a bloody mantle, a Valley up in arms against Moulvi Farooq's killing and the subsequent firing on his funeral procession. But there was a crucial difference. If during Jagmohan's reign the militants were testing India's strength, by the time Saxena came along, they knew there would be no letting down on the toughness. The increasing number of arrests on the border. Though separation from India is still the aim of all the militant groups, the pro-azadi storm that swept the state during Jagmohan's time, today appears to be petering out into a campaign against excesses of the security forces.

If the situation is different, so are the styles. And the manner in which Jagmohan went about his task only compounded his problems. He was one man playing three roles: the policeman, the administrator and the publicity officer. The upshot was that he had to take the flak for everything. To the average Kashmiri, he became the hated symbol of the system they believed was

perpetrating atrocities: it was as if Jagmohan himself was firing the bullets, bursting tear-gas shells and engaging the militants in counter action: as if he was personally supervising the serached and seizures. As opne of Jagmohan's advisers puts it: "It was no fault of his, he lost out because of his belligerent style, for with him it was a one man show."

In the end, he paid the price for this larger than life image. Though Jagmohan heard about the firing on Moulvi Farooq's funeral procession---which claimed 57 lives hours after the incident, it was he who got the flak, and the sack. And as cries of "Moulvi ka hatyara kaun, Jamohan," rent the air, he left the Valley dubbed a killer.

Saxena, in contrast, keeps a low profile and works behind the scenes. And he delegates work which means he does not have to shoulder all the responsibility. Compare some of his statements with that of his predecessor: "As long as incidents keep taking place we can't describe the situation as satisfactory," or "There are hopeful signs but it will take quite some time," are typical Saxena statements. And they are in stark contrast to Jagmohan's declarations like "I retrieved Kashmir from Pakistan," and "I saved Kashmir from a Tiananmen Square situation."

Yet the violence in the Valley continues unabated--last fortnight in the span of a week the militants made an attempt on the lives of four leading police officers, killing five of their guards. At the same time the death toll--of both militants, security forces and civilians--continues to mount.

But facts count for little when the public perception differs. And if in the public eye Jagmohan was an AK-47 assault rifle--swift, rapid fire and lethal--then Saxena is a sniper rifle--slow, cautious and precise.



*The Illustrated Weekly of India, Bombay.
September 30, 1990.*

PROTECTORS OR PREDATORS

by Sukhnani Singh

I want to suck their blood but how can I do it?

Ruksana, 16, resident of Baallipora

If you give me training I will kill the men who raped me.

Shaila 22, resident of Pazipora

Whenever I see an army man now I feel like jumping into a grave. Rabia, 29, resident of Kupwara.

These are the bitter, angry outbursts of Kashmiri women who have been sexually assaulted. Ironically enough, by the keepers of law and order--the Indian army and security forces, stationed in the Valley since January this year to curb the growing terrorist menace.

Today, the sight of a man in uniform both infuriates and frightens them. While villages in the interior have witnesses the highest number of rapes, those close to civilisation have not been spared either. Three unmarried sisters from a well-respected family in Lal Bazar, a downtown area of Srinagar, were carried off to the cantonment and released after two nights of sexual assault.

More than anywhere else, the number of atrocities have reached alarming proportions in army infested Kupwara, a thickly forested, mountainous district 90 kilometres north of Srinagar, earlier famed only for the beauty of its Lolab Valley. Young girls in the scenic Treggham village (the hometown of Maqbool Butt, founder of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front) are dragged inside their homes alone and subjected to various forms of physical torture--from blows with belts and rifle butts to electric shocks. Eighteen-year-old Mumtaz of Tangwara mohalla had the flesh of her left cheek gouged out, her clothes stripped off and it is uncertain whether she escaped rape. For she has withdrawn into herself. Frightened out of their wits, families from this mohalla hurriedly migrated to a remote village and have just returned to their homes after four months.

In far-off Ledervan, an 18-year-old girl hanged upside down from a tree during interrogation and given a succession of electric shocks, rendering her unconscious. When she came to her senses, she was beaten. Today, she is almost insane. Near Chokibal, another serene village in Kupwara, a couple was arrested and taken to an army camp where the husband was tied to a tree while his wife was raped by jawans. Helpless as he was, he is engulfed by a murderous rage today.

Twenty-five kilometres from the Indo-Pak border is idyllic Ballipora, far-removed from civilisation. The 40 families there lived a life of plenty. But on August 10, their rustic bliss was shattered. On that fateful day, 12 women from neighbouring Pazipora came in running, hotly pursued by dozens of ruthless army jawans. Beating the males with rifle butts, the jawans forced them to leave. After that, they made all the women line up for inspection and pulled aside the youngest and prettiest of the lot. Recounts 50-year-old Saja, whose wrinkled face still bears bluish scars under the eyes, "eight to 10 men would fall upon one woman, tear off her clothes, strip her naked and make her walk. They beat me on my head and

under my eyes with rifle butts, but I didn't allow my two unmarried daughters to be raped."

But not all the women had a Saja to defend them. Half of them were dragged to the field, while the rest were carried into a dirty cowshed. Then, each was raped by nine or 10 men. One of them was pinned down in a field for as long as three hours, her blood-stained shalwar later set on fire by the jawans. Twenty-six-year-old Saja, another victim, sits huddled in a dingy hut in Pazipora with tears running down her cheeks, "I want to kill myself," she cries in a voice choked with emotion. Both her husband and brother-in-law were shot dead by the army shortly before she was raped.

When the women fled their village, the residents of Ballipora came to their aid, lending them clothes and providing them shelter for the night. They returned to their village the next day.

Sixteen-year-old Ruksana, with her plump pink cheeks, expressive hazel eyes and curly brown hair is still stunned by her experience. Though she was lucky to escape from the clutches of the army four times when they came on raids asking for the 12 girls who they claimed had received training in Pakistan Occupied Kashmir (POK), luck abandoned her where, one morning, she was whisked away from her uncle's compound in Ballipora by four uniformed jawans. Taking her to a paddy field, three men stood behind her and held her flailing arms, while the other stood in front, tore her embroidered phiran down the front, and wrenched off her shalwar. "I was totally overpowered," she remarks dully. While two of them held her arms and two others her legs, they were joined by three others and all of them raped her. They held her captive for two hours. Unable to bear the pain and indignity of it all, Ruksana finally lost consciousness. Hours later, her aunt Saja discovered her and carried her home. Physically, it took her 15 days to get back to normal. Psychologically, she is still a wreck. Her voice breaks down as she relives the trauma she went through, lips quivering uncontrollably as she mutters, "Whenever somebody mentions the army, I become abnormal, --- I have palpitations. In fact, I almost lose consciousness."

A doctor in the Kupwara district hospital corroborates that the five women who were brought to her from Pazipora were all definitely victims of rape. She also holds that although these particular cases had been registered by the police, many go unregistered as the victim and her family try to keep it secret. Rape, after all, is still a great social stigma. But often doctors and police in the valley are too scared to pursue cases. She herself has yet to prepare the reports of the victims, she examined. She remarks "I heard of one virgin, who had lot of bleeding developed kidney trouble

and had to be referred to a hospital in Srinagar. She died there, but nobody did anything."

Mumtaz Wani, an advocate who has been investigating the cases in Kupwara, discloses that the SHO in Velgam police station (under whose jurisdiction Pazipora comes) has recorded the statements and registered the cases of eight victims under section 376 of the Criminal Procedure Code. But now, alleges Wani, "he is under pressure from the SP and the army to close the cases. To date, he sustained the pressure, but is not in a position to investigate the cases."

In dirty Kupwara town, 26-year-old Rabia crouches in a dingy bed-cum-sitting child. There are dark pouches under her grey eyes ; she has a vacant expression on her face. With her unshaven husband standing by sympathetically, she mechanically recounts the events of that dreadful day last month when army jawans stormed their house.

There had been rapid cross-firing the night before and at 5 a.m. that morning, there was an army crackdown in Kupwara. Her husband and brother, like all other males in the locality, were rounded up and marched to the chowk. Catching her alone, three jawans, snatched her baby out of her arms and knocked her to the ground with their rifle butts. They then gagged her with one of her own phirans, tore her *kurta* and raped her. One of them even pressed his foot down on her child's chest so that he could not cry out while they were unleashing their passion. This carried on for an hour, after which she fainted. She is still under gynecological treatment for the wounds which had been inflicted in her genital region.

Tender, innocent Zekha, 16, resident of Shali Bahata in Kupwara, was walking with her mother on the morning of August 10, when she was suddenly snatched by some jawans, taken to the forest and raped, while her mother was taken into custody. Late in the evening, one of the villagers stumbled upon her bleeding and unconscious form. He brought her home but it was too late. She died that night.

Srinagar advocate, Zafar Shah, who is also a member of the Bar Association which is investigating atrocities in the valley, describes the difficulties they face even in getting a case registered. "We try to do so wherever we find a man of conscience. But since the state police department is under eclipse and the army has been given more power, a policeman is scared of displeasing them."

The people of Wadwan, a picturebook village in Badgam district, 20 kilometres from Srinagar, have a similar tale to tell. A convoy of 100 army vehicles drew in at dawn and wrecked havoc on the lives of the peaceful farmers there. Many women in the village were molested in their homes while their husbands were ordered to

assemble in the mosque. However, no case has been registered so far. Says N.L. Trisal, district commissioner of Badgam, "I received some complaints that women had been harmed in seven or eight houses during an ambush and that the forces had misbehaved. I approached the additional chief secretary (home) and an inquiry was instituted by the police." How far has the inquiry reached? Trisal admits with refreshing candour, "I have no idea. As the district magistrate and the commissioner, I should get feedback from the police. But all communications between us has been paralysed."

Given this deplorable state of affairs, it is hardly surprising that, at present, only four rape cases and two attempts to rape are being investigated by the authorities, according to the director general of police, J.N. Saxena. To date, not a single case has been placed before a court of law.

But of all the cases under investigation, action has been taken only on the most highly publicised one--the case of the bride Mubina in Anantnag. In May this year, the bride was travelling by bus with her husband and the marriage party of 27 persons. The bus was fired upon and stopped near Badasgam village in Islamabad district at 11.30 a.m. by a BSF patrolling party. The bride was kidnapped by the jawans, gang-raped and released after 48 hours. The hapless girl had to undergo medical treatment in the district hospital of Anantnag. Gynecologist Dr. Masooda Jan examined her and prepared a medical report on May 18 which proves that she was raped. Four jawans of the BSF have accordingly been suspended after investigations. No further action has been taken so far.

Similarly, in a rape case in Pulwama district, a junior commanding officer has been demoted and the authorities "plan" to take action against three others. No one has been imprisoned. Another case has been referred to the forensic laboratory. But the stumbling block in all these cases is that in order to conclusively establish a case of rape it is essential for the complainant to appear before the court of inquiry. But the security forces have two options: to appear before a civil court or a court-martial, and most cases have been transferred to the army authorities.

"Under these circumstances," comments Shah with a wry grimace, "which poor, illiterate Kashmiri will be able to depose before a court-martial? She will be afraid that the authorities will repeat the crime."

Even in cases where the girl might appear for a trial, people are skeptical about the outcome, feeling "the armed forces are deliberately trying to create a sense of fear in the minds of the people through atrocities so that they give up the demand for a plebiscite."

The victims doubt if justice will ever be dispensed. For, as one of them remarks bitterly, "They will not allow their forces to face trial because this will lower the morale of the entire force." Judging by the snail-like pace at which investigations proceed, it certainly appears so.

The rise in the number of rape cases in Kashmir has dangerous repercussions. It is breeding more militancy and alienating the populace further. Ever since the first rape case in Chhapora six months ago, it is said that the militants began taking a new *vow-Hamare behan ke tapakte aansoon ke kasam*. Women too are up in arms aching to take revenge. Screams a victim, "*Hum chup nahin baithenge*." Women activists have begun imparting training to girls in the use of knives and boomerangs, urging them to aim for a jawan's neck or stomach if he attempts to molest them.

One serious fall-out of this is that those who were mildly anti-Indian have now turned against India, even emotionally, because of what is happening to their womenfolk. As Shah aptly puts it, "If you have economic hardships, you can beg, borrow and survive. But if you are going through emotional trauma, you cannot take it. So, now, when the man fights, he fights with a vengeance."



Al-Safa Srinagar.
October 1, 1990.

MP URGES CHANGE OF STANCE ON KASHMIR

by Phil Murphy

A YORKSHIRE MP has returned from a week-long trip to the Kashmir with a fresh call to the British government to change its stance on the conflict in the territory and to intervene to end bloodshed and torture.

India is resisting demands that its part of Kashmir should become independent or join Pakistan.

Mr. Max Madden (Lab Bradford West) said his experiences convinced him that there was an attempt by Indian security forces to eradicate virtually all male Kashmiris between the ages of 10 and 35.

He had visited a refugee camp where tents housed 300 families. There, one man told of how he had his right foot chopped off by the security forces, one woman and her baby bore burn marks on their stomachs allegedly inflicted by security forces and another man showed scars he claimed came from electrodes attached to his face and neck.

Since the beginning of January, 43 bodies had been found in one river, some of the corpses with their faces disfigured by torture in attempts to prevent identification, Mr Madden was told.

At a Press conference the MP held up copies of a Kashmir broadsheet newspaper. Nearly two full pages were filled with the photographs of Kashmiris believed to have been murdered by security forces. They included one two-year old.

Mr. Madden was told that rape and the looting of houses by Indian security forces were commonplace.

Now, he is to press again for Britain to use its efforts to persuade India and Pakistan to resolve their dispute and allow the Kashmiris to determine their own future for themselves.

He believes a plebiscite of the nearly 12 million population would back the creation of an independent state of Kashmir.

Earlier this year the Prime Minister responded to a letter from Mr. Madden stating that the British position was one of neutrality backed by calls for restraint from Indian security forces and end to violence by all elements in Kashmir.

"I think in the face of mounting evidence of systematic human rights abuse it is a position the British government will not be able to maintain," said Mr. Madden.

He also wants India to confirm its invitation to Amnesty International to enter Kashmir and investigate allegations of human right violations. He had tabled a Commons motion to that effect.

Mr. Gary Waller, the Conservative MP for Keighley, is among those who have signed the motion. Another 35 have also signed the motion.

Mr. Waller said he backed Mr. Madden's call for an end to human rights abuses but he said he believed it was difficult for Britain to take a leading role in an issue which was very much related to the interests of two independent countries.

Mr. Waller has also expressed alarm at the decision to give the Indian army sweeping new powers over large areas of Kashmir.

Mr. Madden said the new powers meant martial law across the whole of the Kashmir Valley with police officers as junior as constable given the right to shoot on sight.



The Nation ,Lahore.
October 3, 1990.

HANDWARA IN KASHMIR: A TOWN BOMBED

by Gulam Nabl Khayal

It has been yet another massacre of innocent Kashmiris and setting ablaze of an entire shopping complex in Handwara, a remote town, 70 km north-west of Srinagar which had been bristling with activities full of life only till yesterday and looked deserted and devastated today, October 2, 1990, the birth anniversary of Gandhi.

Besides killing of at least fifteen civilians (death toll finally reached to 25 mark) including one middle-aged woman and a sitting member of state legislative council, soldiers of the Indian Border Security Force (BSF) set fire to the entire market reducing to ashes three hundred shops, residential houses and several commercial buildings.

When this correspondent visited the town, he saw that out of a total population of about thousand people, hardly a few hundred could be seen around. They had gathered in Handwara hospital where the bodies of those shot dead by the soldiers had been kept for burial in a newly set up martyrs-gravesyard.

"It was about 11-30 a.m. yesterday (Monday, October 1, 1990) when some armed militants fired on a BSF patrol in the main and the only market in this town. The BSF soldiers retaliated with opening indiscriminate fire on civilians and set fire to entire market gutting it completely," said Sharifuddin Shariq, a member of the dissolved legislative assembly who added that five bullets also hit his house though no damage was done to his family or himself. "These soldiers are cowards. They cannot harm militants but take revenge from civilians. They also shot at and injured two teenaged girl students who were returning from their tutor's house."

According to Abdul Khaliq, block medical officer, the BSF personnel also confined about one hundred members of paramedical staff in the town and asked them to keep standing near a stinking latrine outside hospital for more than two hours. "They warned me that my colleagues fired on them. We could not argue with them because they were seemingly out to kill all of us." He said that his two sons, Shahnawaz, 14, and Saleem 12, were harassed to the extent that he had to send them to Srinagar immediately.

Eye witnesses said that about six hundred soldiers fired on people in the market indiscriminately and threw some half-dead bodies into shops which they set on fire simultaneously. All the fifteen bodies kept in the hospital bore bullet wounds as well as burn marks on them. One body was completely charred beyond

recognition. About one dozen people were busy in preparing newly dug up graves for their burial outside hospital premises.

"They did not spare even an honourable member of the state legislature, Malik Ghulam Rasool," Said Chowdhry Mohammad Ramzan, former minister in the state government till imposition of the Governor's rule in January this year. He said, "about six soldiers, called 65-year old Malik out of his house in the town when he was having his midday meals and shot him dead from point blank piercing his neck with two bullets. If such is the fate of a senior legislator at the hands of the "security" forces, how can an ordinary citizen feel that he was safe here?"

Bilal Ahmad, a college student, narrated how his father, Ghulam Nabi Shapoo, 45, a government employee was also killed. "They brought him down from his Tehsil office where he was working, shot at him three times and then threw his half-dead body into the office setting it ablaze at the same time," he said.

Another local resident, Abdul Majid Banday, said, "They also killed my brother most brutally," He said that his brother Mohammad Amin Banday, 40, a businessman, was going in his taxi thought the market along with two other persons. "They did not even ask him to stop but fired at him from his back side and killed all the three persons in the taxi. When they dragged out their bodies out on the road, they again opened fire on them repeatedly though they had already died," The taxi, which was also burnt, lay in the ruined market, a testimony to the soldiers' naked brutality.

C. Phun song, special commissioner of the district, confirmed that among those killed were old men and one woman also. "I was told that one militant was also killed. The head constable of the Kashmir Armed Police, Ali Mohammed, had also been shot dead." He did not rule out possibility of some more bodies still to be recovered from the debris and rubble of shops and houses some of which were still burning despite the incident having taken place more than twentyfour hours ago.

"The head constable, Ali Mohammad, was shot dead by the BSF right inside the main gate of Handwara police station when he tried to come out to find out how the entire market had caught fire. "We four constables, including Ali Mohammad, were near the gate of the police station, when we were fired upon by the BSG immediately. Ali Mohammad died on the spot and another constable, Abdul Azis, was injured seriously," said a constable Abdul Qayyum. Blood stains were still there inside the gate of the station testifying to the murder of Ali Mohammad whose body still in uniform was being taken to his home village for the last rites.

"We did not know what has happened to our family members who have fled to other villages after the massacre and devastating fire," said Abdul Rashid, a local shopkeeper, who said that he was not allowed to take out anything from his cloth shop, the burning of which caused him a loss of nearly three hundred thousand rupees. "They did not allow any civilian to enter into the burning areas till everything was reduced to ashes," said Rashid.

The Fire Officer of Handwara Fire Station, Ghulam Mohammed, confirmed that the firemen were not allowed to extinguish flames for about four hours from 12 noon to 4 P.M. "when we finally reached the burning market along with ten fire-fighting vehicles, we found ourselves totally helpless. We could save nothing because there was nothing left which could be saved," he said. According to the details provided by him, the completely burnt property included 31 residential houses, 55 commercial buildings, about 300 shops, 4 cowsheds in which one dozen cattle perished, 20 small shops (Khokhas), 50 paddy stacks, one passenger bus, two trucks laden with apple-fruit, three taxi cars, one scooter, two buildings belonging to the Muslim Auqaf (Endowment) Trust, one post office, one Tehsil Office, the social welfare department, the cooperative bank building and some trees including one magnificent green Chinar tree. He put the approximate loss to property alone at about two hundred million rupees. "We have registered a case and the police is further investigating," said Ghulam Mohammad.

Surprisingly, the properties belonging to the Kashmiri Pandits (Hindus) and the Sikhs, had not been touched at all by the forces and the temple and the Gurudwara were seen in tact along with about 60 houses of the Hindus now migrated outside the Kashmir Valley. "It was only with the grace of Waheguru that our houses were saved," said Mahender Singh, a local Sikh cloth merchant whose house and the shop had not been damaged.

"We do believe in the grace of Waheguru, but let me tell you that soldiers had only to destroy the properties of the Muslims and that why they did not burn the houses belonging to the non-Muslims," said Mohammad Amin Butt, editor of the local Urdu weekly, *Tameel-e-Irshad*, whose office in the Auqaf building had also been burnt.

An official spokesman while confirming the deaths said, "We have lost one soldier. One militant has also been killed," When asked how the civilians were killed, he replied, "They were caught in cross firing between militants and the forces." He could not come out with any satisfactory answer. He also parried the question as to who set fire to the houses and the shops.

A local poet somehow concluded saying, "Today, the whole of India is observing the birth anniversary of Gandhi, the apostle of peace and non-violence for the Indian people, and it is on this day that soldiers of Gandhi's land have crossed all limits of humanity to perpetrate brutalities on us in order to annihilate a particular community, incidentally known as the Kashmiri Muslims." He said and wept bitterly.



New York Times - vide - Nation, Lahore
October 9, 1990.

LIFE AT GUN POINT

Just before four p.m. traffic in the center of Srinagar city comes to a stand still for about twenty minutes to let a few buses pass.

The buses take Hindu government employees from their sandbagged offices to their safe dormitories separated from Muslim areas by troops in battle gear.

In the stalled traffic, a visitor has time to take stock of what has happened in less than a year to the valley where, Jawaharlal Nehru wrote, "loveliness dwells and enchantment steals over the senses".

The gingerbread-trimmed house boats on Dal Lake lie silent, with no tourists to rent them. The shops of Delegate in Srinagar that remain open are also empty except for a few salespeople chatting to each other to pass the time. Banks and schools are closed in support of a govt. employees strike.

Kashmiris, seeking independence, that many now acknowledge, cannot be won by force of arms, have sunk into a sullen stand-off with New Delhi.

Daily life is lived within almost constant view of armed men. Indian paramilitary troops stand guard on nearly every street corner, rifles pointed chest-high at passerby venturing out to shop or visit friends.

Behind the walls edging narrow lanes, armed freedom fighters move with ease, shielded by a largely sympathetic population. Each side accuses the other of terrorising the civilians.

India, often portraying this as an Islamic--rebellious description Kashmiris angrily reject has yet to allow any international human right groups to come here. American Congress delegations are told that the valley is too dangerous to visit.

"Where", a lawyer asked, "is the world's respect for United Nations resolutions that promised Kashmiris a plebiscite more than 40 years ago? Only George Bush can help us now," he said.

At his home in a quiet residential neighbourhood patrolled by troops in combat uniforms, the former Chief Justice of the Jammu & Kashmir High Court said, "Half a generation had been destroyed by Indian military swoops."

"Thousands of young people have been detained, hundreds of all ages killed and whole neighbourhoods and villages torched by troops", he said.

At his office on a hill above Srinagar, the State Governor, Girish Saxena said, "believe that more than 400 Kashmiris have been killed as suspected informers".

Mr. Saxena, former head of the Research and Analysis Wing (RAW), India's equivalent of the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, runs the state with sweeping powers. Jammu & Kashmir has been declared a "disturbed area."

He acknowledges that the powers Indian troops possess are some times misused, but adds that they operate under severe provocation.

"We have taken very serious notice of these charges," Mr. Saxena said. "We have suspended people and are prosecuting them." He said, "Thirty cases are being investigated, including manslaughter, arson and the molestation of women".

"Where we find innocent people have suffered, we give them compensation," he said.

In an interview with two freedom fighters at a "safe house" in the city, one of them acknowledged that the arrests had forced some "changes in organisation." But the freedom fighters, armed with Chinese pistols said, they had not lost public support.



The Independent, Bombay
October 10, 1990.

HISTORY WILL NOT FORGIVE US

by Sumanta Banerjee

THIRTY years after the German occupation of France, Marcel Ophuls made a film called *le Chagrin et la Pitié* (The Sorrow and the Pity), based on interviews with French citizens, who collaborated with the Nazis. It was not meant to be a witch-hunt. It

persuaded a new generation of post-war French youth to discover a hidden and shameful episode of their country's past, when certain sections of academics, editors, politicians and professional people chose to turn a blind eye to the deportation and massacre of Jews.

I sometime wish an Indian film maker produce a documentary of live interviews with our present-day politicians, officials, editors and ordinary citizens, and ask them just one question: how do they look at what is happening in Kashmir today? It can reveal the cruelties and frailties, the ignorance and viciousness that twist their perceptions about happenings in Kashmir, and distort their attitude towards the crimes being committed there. It can be a valuable record for future generations who may discover how their nation behaved towards a community in what can be called the darkest hour of its history.

The sentiments expressed above are provoked by a recent visit to Kashmir. What I saw in the valley is contradicted by what I read in the newspapers. Am I to believe the relatives of those killed by the BSF in Mashali Mohalla in Srinagar, and the residents of Sirigufwara in Anantanag, whose houses were burnt down by the CRPF? Or, should I accept the assertion made every day by our ministers in Parliament that reports of killings by security forces are false propaganda mounted by the militants? Or, do I take for gospel the even more preposterous claim made by governor Girish Saxena that the arson was the handiwork of the Sirigufwara residents themselves, who wanted compensation money? Should I believe his advisor Jamil Qureshi, who told a press conference in Jammu on August 24 that the militants has been wiped out? Or, am I compelled to recognise the existence of the militants. When soon after Qureshi's claim it succeeded in forcing government employees all over the valley to go on a five-day strike from September 3? Should I just stop at blaming Pakistan for sending subversives into the valley and remain blind to the fact that the BSF jawans manning the borders allow them to come in for a sum of Rs. 700 per person? It is incredible how these questions never occur to the members of our intellectual establishment, who without batting an eyelid gulp down whatever the government or the press chooses to tell them.

The latest term which has become fashionable with government spokesmen to counter allegations of atrocities by security forces in Kashmir, is the expression 'disinformation.' It is being held that the militants are spreading 'disinformation' by concocting stories of atrocities. But let us see, who is spreading 'disinformation' - the militants or the government?

While in Srinagar, I was told by a senior government official

that reports of BSF atrocities in Mashali Mohalla on August 6 had no basis whatsoever. I went to Mashali Mohalla and met the resident's there. Most of the 125 families living there had left after the events of August 6. Among the few who still remained, the faces of the survivors, the eyewitness accounts of the relatives of those killed and the burnt down houses were eloquent testimony to the terror that was unleashed on them. The 75 battalion of the BSF raided the 'mohalla' on the night of the 6th. The provocation, we were told, was an incident of firing by some militants several kilometres away. But instead of the guilty militants, the innocent householders of the 'mohalla' became the targets of the BSF, who ran amuch, burnt at least six houses and killed 12 persons. Among those killed were 65 year-old Ghulam Ahmed Meer and his 25-year old son Fayaz Ahmed Meer. The widow, Halima broke down whole narrating how her son Fayaz was dragged by the BSF jawans and shot thrice in his stomach and chest. Her husband was killed when he was offering '*namaz*' [prayer]. Mehbooba, widow of Bashir Ahmed Beg, was sleeping when the BSF entered the house, and shot her husband and two sons, Muzaffar Ahmed (17) and Ejaz Ahmed (10) killing them on the spot. She herself was shot in the chest, but survived. I was taken around the house of Ghulam Qader, 50-year-old farmer, who along with his two sons were shot dead the same night. Bullet holes in the walls of the room where they were killed, and blood stains on the floor were shown as the evidence of the event, by the neighbours.

In Sirigufwara in Anantnag, the CRPF reacted in the same way, when militants fired upon their vehicle as they were passing through a highway on August 10. Instead of apprehending the militants who fired upon them, the CRPF personnel fled the spot. They arrived at Sirigufwara, which is more than one kilometer away from the actual spot, where the militants fired upon them. The residents of the area, left their houses in panic and took shelter in a neighbouring village.

There is no use of repeating what I saw and heard. It is the same story everywhere. Wherever one goes in the valley, one can hear about allegations of gang rapes, killings and incendiary by the BSF, CRPF and Army jawans. Watching the survivors and listening to their tales of woe, moving through the charred remains of their houses and belongings, one feels ashamed of calling oneself an Indian.

All this, of course, can be dismissed as 'disinformation' I can be accused of being misled by the militants, of being an agent of Pakistan! Governor Saxena maintains that the security forces are

doing a great job, and all those 'who are being killed are actually 'dreaded terrorists'.

When faced with stubborn facts, Saxena and his lieutenants come up with another fashionable phrase- 'caught in crossfire'. Explaining away the killing of innocent people, they claim that they were killed in cross-firing between the militants and the security forces. But it seems that in the CRPF, BSF and army operations, the term 'cross firing' covers a wide distance, both in space and time. On August 10, the militants fired upon a CRPF vehicle at Darrkhan, and the CRPF retaliated by burning houses in Sirigufwars. On the same day, militants opened fire on some army vehicles near Dedikot village in Kupwars. Soon after that, the same army personnel raided Pazipora village and killed 25 people there. They are all being described as victims of 'cross-firing'!

The militants cannot destroy the security forces, and the latter cannot liquidate the militants. It is the innocent people, who have to pay the price for this endless war of attrition. The militants by their obstinate actions are indirectly causing more suffering to their own people. Every terrorist act by them invites retaliation from the security forces, who, cowards as they are, wreak vengeance upon the common people. The survivors such vengeance escape, and swell the ranks of the militants. By the government's own admission the number of militants have risen from a few hundreds a year ago to several thousands. To meet this growing challenge, the authorities are deploying more and more forces in the valley. In Srinagar alone, there are at least 22 CRPF companies. In the vicious cycle of attacks and counter-attacks, vengeance and retribution, an entire community is getting brutalised. Children of a once peaceful people, watch grimfacedly the humiliations suffered by their parents, the killing of their elders. Fingers trained to weave delicate patterns on shawls are itching for the triggers of AK-47s. "What will you do when you grown up?" I asked a seven year old boy standing desolate in the midst of the wreckage at Sirigufwars. "A mujahed", he replied.'

Meanwhile, we in the rest of the country can think of thousand of ways in which to deny or repress guilt so as to preserve our self-esteem. We can blame Pakistan for sending terrorists to Kashmir. We can accuse the terrorists of misguiding the people of Kashmir. We can dismiss allegations of atrocities as 'disinformation'. We can go on defending the increasing militarization of administration on the plea of maintaining the 'nation's integrity'.

New Delhi's policy in Kashmir is buttressed by a combination of official 'disinformation' on the one hand, and general

public silence on the other, or official complicity in crimes on the one hand and widespread passivity of our intellectuals on the other. How many years will it take us to face our guilt, to purge ourselves of lies in order to be able to look into the eyes of the Kaashmiris?



The Hindustan Times, Delhi.

October 13, 1990.

TOURIST RAPED BY INDIAN FORCES

A Canadian tourist, Ms. Laura Jane Lambie, who arrived in Srinagar a few days ago, has accused the security forces of "kidnapping and sexually assaulting" her in the hills overlooking Dal Lake on the outskirts of the city.

The 24 years old tourist said the "worst in her life" happened last night: She had gone to boulevard for a stroll around 11 a.m. While walking back to her hotel she started a conversation with three local youths. When they were just short of the Centaur Hotel on the banks of Dal Lake, three men with regulation weapons and walkie talkies stopped her. She was told that it was "dangerous" to walk with local youths. Then she was taken to the Chashma Shahi gardens up in the hills and questioned in a "military-like location," before being subjected to the worst ever ordeal of her life.

First they began interrogating her and she was asked to show her passport a number of times. "Initially they were nice and friendly to me, but later their attitude change, and I was accused of being a drug peddler, a charge which I vehemently denied," Ms. Lambie said.

Suddenly, one of the men, who claimed they were high officers and said no one could harm them, put a jacket on her face and she was removed to an unknown place. "It was pitch dark in the hills. I screamed and cried for help. help me... but no one came. There was military camp near the place where I was kept, and I do not know how many men gangraped me," she alleged.

The Canadian tourist was initially reluctant to speak to newsmen to talk to "security force men in civies" after journalists established their identity, Ms Lambie narrated her story.

Ms. Lambie said she was robbed of Rs. 300 being thrown on the road down the hills at 4.45 a.m. this morning. Some boatmen came to her rescue and took her to a Shikara. Now, she is being looked after by two other foreign tourists.

Though Ms Lambie has reported the matter to the Canadian High Commission in New Delhi, she feels that the security men may harass her again. She wants to leave Kashmir at the earliest. When

asked why she did not report to the local police, she said, "They are impotents. Indian forces can get away with anything they like".



Al-Safa News, Srinagar
October 18, 1990.

RUNAWAY PUNDITS CONFESS

THE LETTER: *September 22, 1990.*

We, the undersigned, on our own behalf and on other members of our community which to convey our profound gratitude to for having published the letter of Shri K.L. Koul in the columns of your esteemed daily. We fully share and endorse the views and sentiments, expressed by Shri Koul.

There can be no dispute about the fact the Kashmiri pandit community was made a scapegoat by jagmohan, some self styled leaders of our community and other vested interests. This drama was staged by Hindu communal organizations like the B.J.P. R.S.S. and the Shiv Sena in connivance with the state administration. In this drama the main characters were played by Advani, Vajpayee, Mufti and Jagmohan and the state administration was made to play the role of a joker. It is an open secret now that the Indian occupation forces had drawn a plan to massacre a large section of Kashmiri Muslims, particularly those in the age group of 14 to 25 so that the people could be enslaved and subjugated for all the times to come. This plan was formulated by Advani, Vajpayee, Mufti and Jagmohan. According to reliable and well informed sources the plan was to make the K.P's migrate from the valley so that the mass uprising, against occupation forces could be painted as a communal flare up and the massacre of the Muslims could be termed as a fight against the communal forces and measure for the restoration of law and order. The orders to foreign journalists to vacate the valley and restrictions on the local press should be seen in that scenario and perspective. The idea was to keep the world community ignorant of the real issue and create a cover for the sinister designs of the occupation forces.

Some self styled leaders of the pandit community, led by none other than that stove mechanic turned politician and a pimp of Dr. Farooq Abdullah named H.N. Jattu, begged the pandits to migrate from the valley. We were told that our migration was very vital for preserving and protecting "Dharm" and the unity and the integrity of India, we were told that our migration would pave the way for realising the dream of Akhand Bharat. We were made to believe that the valley was about to be conquered by Pakistan, with the active support of local Muslims. We were made to believe that our migration was very important for, Hinduism and for keeping India together. We were given to understand that it was purely a war between Hinduism and Islam. At the same time we were assured that as soon as the people of the valley were silenced and made to surrender we shall be sent back to our homes. That day has yet to come and under the present

circumstances we do not see any such hope. We were assured in the names of all the gods and deities that we shall be looked after very we desire or demand. At the same time we were threatened of dire consequences in case we did not obey the orders. We feel cheated because we understand now that it is not a war between two religions but a struggle for independence and the struggle for right of self determination which is the birth right of every human being.

What has been in store for our community ever since we migrated from our homes is a part of our history now. We have been exploited beyond limits and there is no end to our miseries, as the things stand now. We hold nobody responsible for the mess we are in now but our own selves. We were fooled and we were more than willing to become fools. The Hindu communal organizations, self styled leaders and Jagmohan acted as reagents only. This idiotic step of ours shall go down in our history as unpatriotic and a living monument of our folly.

It is a very well known fact that the local population treat us as invaders. The dogra "dangars" are treating us as nothing but pigs and dogs though they spare no efforts to squeeze us. The locals are exploiting us and we have in fact become money spinning machines for them. Whatever little is given to us in the name of relief passes on to them in the shape of house rent and charges for the essential commodities but they still have a grudge against us. They treat us as parasites even though their business is now dependent on us. It is a sad fact that most of us have carelessly disposed of whatever valuables we had bought, at the time of leaving home, and most of that we get in lieu of selling ornaments and other valuables has already passed on to the "dangars". Let it be understood that we have nothing in common with the dogras-not even the religion because the hinduism they practise is something different from the hinduism we know. Hinduism in fact is no religion but a way of life and that makes us more akin to the Kashmiri Muslims because our way of life is similar to their way of life. We share everything with the Kashmiri Muslims. Our history, culture, traditions, customs and the language is common. We are largely dependant on them because they are in the majority. We feel ashamed to admit that we have betrayed not only our mother land but even those who have given us love, affection and respect for centuries together in their hour of need and trial. We feel ashamed to have become tools in the hands of enemies of our nation and for not participating in the freedom struggle of our mother land, from the alien rule. We also feel ashamed to admit that we have knowingly or unknowingly, committed a real blunder by playing our part in communalising the situation and the freedom struggle whereas we should have been a part of this struggle of God alone can forgive us for this great betrayal. This is the struggle of all Kashmiris and we are no exceptions.

We know that the our betraying our motherland has resulted in our having lost the love, good will, respect and affection of our Muslim brothers and sisters who are fighting the occupation forces but at the same time we are confident of their good nature and magnanimity. We are sure that they will forgive us in the true spirits of Islam and according to the

teachings of the prophet Hazrat Mohammad Sahib.

The pandits living or more precisely rotting in Jammu can be divided into three categories. In the first category are those pandits who are already settled in Jammu and have their own houses. Shri Koul has rightly remarked and observed that these pandits treat us like invaders and call us refugees even though they also are getting the benifets, by fraud and proxy, which are meant for the imigrants. The second category consists of those Pandits who have practically no property worth its name back home. these Pandits come from the slum like areas of Habakadal, ganpatyar, Rainawari etc. and most of them have no permanant source of income in the valley. They are more than contant on reciving relief and have practically nothing at stake in the valley. That is how member of this category are more vocal and take a lead in defaming the Kashmiri Muslims beacuse they do not want want to return home. Most of these pandits have given their daughter in marrige to the danger with a hope be getting their favours. Most of the self styled leaders come from this category. The third category is of those pandits who come from a well to do back ground and have left back property worth lakhs of rupees in the valley. This category is more than eager to return home.

We join Shri Koul, on our own behalf and on behalf of all the same members of our community (Thank god we are in majority) in apealing to our Kashmiri Muslim brothers and sisters to forgive us for the betrayl and allow us to return home. We also strongly condemn the atrocities that are being unieashed on our brothers by the Indian occupation forces. We also appeal to the government of India and to all peace loving people of India to full-fill the promises that were given to us by their leaders like Pt. Jawahar Lal Nehru.

We also appeal to the world community and the U.N.O. to refrain India from committing atrocities against our nation. We also appeal to U.N.O. to compel India and implement the resolution passedion passed in 1948 for grant of the right of self- determination to the people of Kashmir and for holding plebicits in the state of Jammu and Kashmir.

Kindly convey our respects and good wishes to our Kashmiri Muslim brothers and sisters. We salute their valour and courage which they are showing aganist the on slought of occupaion forces. Please remind them that it is a temporary phase and that the blood for our great martyrs will be victorious very soon.

May our dream of living in a free, independent and prosperous country of Jammu and Kashair be fulfilled very soon.

Signed by:

Brij Nath Bhan, M.L. Dhar, K.L. Kaul, Kanhaya Lal Raina, G.N. Daftari, Moti Lal Mam, C.L. Kak, Chuni Lal Raina, M.L. Munshi, B.N. Ganjoo, Ashok Kaul, C.L. Parimu, Poshkar Nath Bhatt, Pran Nath Kher, R.L. Razdan, Poshkar Nath Kaul, B.N. Bhat, Moti Lal Kaul, Ashok Dhar, Kamal Raina, H.K. Kaul and S.N. Dhar.

The Weekly Friday, Dhaka.
October 12, 1990.

GENOCIDE IN KASHMIR COTINUES

"The situation in Indian Held Kashmir is highly tense. The death toll is rising day by day. Even then the people of Kashmir are firm in their conviction. They want complete independence from India. In this connection, a general strike, called by Muslim militant Kashmiris crippled the Kashmir Valley, Shops, business hotels and banks did not open in Srinagar and elsewhere in the Valley. Work in federal and state Government office in Srinagar also remained paralysed for the 26th consecutive day because of a continuing strike by nearly 1,70,000 employees."

"The strikers are demanding that the government reinstate five senior officers who were dismissed after they complained to human rights organisations about security excesses in Kashmir. In fact, New Delhi has stepped up its repressive measures on the people of Kashmir. A political moderate and former Chief Minister of the State, Farooq Abdullah, called, the violence, nothing less than a war by the security forces on the Kashmir people. The US State Department has urged India to refrain from using deadly force, against unarmed demonstrators. But the Kashmir Valley has filled with tales of horror and fear as the Indian army and paramilitary forces conduct a torch campaign against the militants. According to journalists torture, rape and looting by security forces are routine affairs in the Valley. Last month, paramilitary troops stormed a mosque and ransacked several houses after militants allegedly fired on a security force check-point. Scores of people, gathered outside the mosque after the raid, said the tension was high. Residents near the mosque showed scores of houses whose windows were smashed and rooms were in a disarray and claimed that paramilitary troops were responsible. A 55-year old man said: they broke into my house using the butts of their rifles to smash windows and looted household belonging jewellery and clothes. At least four people showed bandaged arms and legs and said they were assaulted by the troops who went on rampage after militants had allegedly fired on a paramilitary picket in a nearby town."



The Week, India.
October 20, 1990.

FLAMES OF WRATH

"Rage is the all-consuming emotion in Kasiimir Valley, where the militants torch everything Indian and the security forces retaliate on entire localities. The sound of gunfire, the flames leaping up from shops and residences, the corpses on the wayside-Srinagar is a ghost city. Life sputters in the lanes and bylanes, but the, thoroughfares are desolate."

"There is an air of foreboding all around. Menacing rapid-fire guns stare you in the face, just as their uniformed handlers do. There are four check-

points on a four-km drive to the city center. Every time the passengers huddled in a vehicle troop out with hands held high as the grim faced securitymen give each a thorough frisking. "

"Even as human rights groups were crying foul and the administration dismissed it all as disinformation came yet another fiery encounter. On the evening of October 27, militants ambushed a security patrol in Anantnag; the encounter left 12, including a CRPF jawan, dead. Soon after nearly 400 houses and shops were gutted in a blaze. And as the fire station officer complained that he and his men were prevented from putting out the blaze paramilitary forces raided the fire station and beat up some of the firemen. "



New York Times
October 22, 1990.

THE FIRES OF SRINAGAR

Srinagar, the summer capital of the State of Jammu and Kashmir, has been the scene of daily sniping and sporadic gunfights ever since a Kashmiri secession effort exploded early this year. In recent weeks, Kashmiri guerrillas have sharply increased their attacks, and last week they ruined parts of the city into a battleground. Fighters with automatic weapons and rocket-propelled grenades attacked outpost and patrols of the Indian Paramilitary Forces in sections of the old city, a maze of narrow alleys, open sewers and dilapidated wooden buildings.

The fighting continued for six hours and soon fires began to spread. Most residents of the Noorbagh, Bulbul Lanker, Kawdara and Reshippeer areas fled, but some witnesses who stayed behind claimed that security forces had torched the buildings. The authorities denied the charge, though troopers had previously been implicated in a series of arson cases in other parts of Kashmir Valley. Less than 36 hours after the fighting erupted, 600 houses and shops had been gutted, and 900 families were left homeless. The death toll in the clashes, which sputtered on for four days included 13 security troopers, two guerrillas and 16 civilians, though government sources maintained that seven of the civilians were in fact militants.

The latest series of attacks, which guerrilla sources said, was a coordinated effort by three main groups including the Jammu Kashmir Liberation Front, Hizbullah and the Al-Umar Mujahedeen, seemed to mark an effort by the insurgents to recapture world attention. In a statement claiming a victory, JKLF Chief Javed Ahmed Mir declared, "We shall continue the attacks and we shall never allow the Indians to sleep." He also criticized Pakistan and the Arab world for their "Criminal silence" over the uprising in Kashmir.

In response, security forces are turning up the pressure in the valley. Embattled areas of Srinagar have been assigned to the army, which has built fortifications at intersections and deployed armoured vehicles. The security forces also seem to be engaged in an unofficial campaign of making Kashmiris pay a high price for the insurrection by setting fire to areas where guerrilla attacks have taken place. In recent weeks six villages have been largely razed by fire as has the town of Handwara, where 25 civilians were either shot or burned to death last week and 361 houses and shops were torched by a unit of the Border Security Force after it lost one of its members in an ambush. Kashmir Governor Girish Saxena claims that most fires have started accidentally during skirmishes, but he has launched an investigation into some of them including the one at Handwara.



Sunday, Calutta
October 28, 1990.

THE VALLEY IN FLAMED

by Shiraz Siddhva

Sangrama was just another picturesque Kashmir town on the Sopore Road. Until the day a portion of it was burnt down. On 15 October, militants opened fire on Border Security Force (BSF) picket. The paramilitary personnel retaliated by setting fire to the main market and some houses nearby. The next morning, Mohammad Subhan Sheikh, 68, rummages through the debris to salvage whatever little he can from his family's three shops. "We have all fled from here, or they will burn us," he cries. Tears roll down his cheeks as he loads charred quilts and pieces of corrugated sheet onto a pony cart. "I have lost eight to ten lakh rupees worth of merchandise! where we go now?"

Basheer Ahmed, a fruit-seller who lives across the street, has large blisters on his feet ; he couldn't escape the devastating blaze in time. It was around 11 in the morning when the men, women and children of Sangrama hurriedly left their homes, some of them fleeing to nearby Choorba for shelter. "They didn't even spare our cattle," says Abdul Khaliq. "What have we done to deserve this ? Even in war, they spare the old, the sick, women and children. But these so-called security forces are worse than animals," he despairs.

The nightmare did not end there. The day after the Sangrama incident, the paramilitary men gutted the market at Sopore following a gun-battle with the militants. The little shops

with residential quarters on top of them were torched--the remains of melted television sets, burnt typewriters and a kiosk that once housed a tailor's shop bear mute testimony to the mindless act. Altaf Hussain, an eyewitness, swears: he saw CRPF men sprinkle gunpowder on the shops and set them aflame. The timber logs in an adjacent saw mill were also set on fire. Abdul Rashid Dar says 'this is not the first time that such a thing has happened--some months ago, the Iqbal Market down the road was gutted too'.

"This is a new form of war-fare' they have started," says Ghulam Nabi, a tailor, whose shop was looted before it was reduced to ashes. "They even took away packets of salt from the provisions store."

Destroying suspected militant hideouts seems to be the only option left for the security forces now. And the easy way out is to set them on fire---at random mostly. "Our men are demoralised," admits a CRPF commandant. "Everybody here seems to be a militant, and they sometimes shoot at us from the most harmless looking houses. Our men don't have either the weaponry or the training to deal with such guerrilla tactics." Asked whether the 'Disturbed Areas Act' actually empowered the paramilitary to set on fire houses and shops, which could be harbouring militants, the commandant corroborated that the Act did give them some powers. Governor Saxena, however, denies this and says he had ordered inquiries into the incidents. Senior paramilitary personnel, however, are confident that the administration will not come in the way of any action taken by them. "Whatever the Governor might say, we are clearly on the defensive," says a BSF commandant. "There may be arrests all the time, but there are an estimated 50,000 trained men in the valley," insist army and police sources. That is over ten times the number that Governor Saxena estimates, officially at least.

Faced with mounting odds, the security forces have chosen to retaliate in the most barbaric way. Consider what happened in Handwara on 1 October. Two BSF personnel were shot dead while they were buying vegetables in the market. Soon after, a BSF convoy was ambushed while passing through the main town bazar. The paramilitary men returned with an entire contingent and set on fire shops and houses on both sides of the bazar. The blaze that raged for the most part of the day gutted 412 buildings, including 31 houses, 55 commercial establishments, 256 shops, four cowsheds, 50 granaries, two trucks, a bus, three taxis and a scooter. Over 25 people died in the fire; many more must have been trapped under the debris. The BSF even refused to let fire tenders enter the town for over two hours. Even the special commissioner of Baramulla and Kupwars, Mr. Phonsong, admitted that: "the firemen were

prevented from entering Handwars, and that the "victims were mostly innocent". The police, however, laid the blame entirely on the militants, claiming that the fire was a 'result of firing and the use of hand grenades by the militants.'.

Two weeks after the incident, Handwara still seems like a ghost town. Its inhabitants are yet to overcome the shock. Some of them dig around the piles of rubble, looking for what ever may have survived the fire. The people point out that the only section of shops that have not been gutted display a board saying that it belongs to Kashmiri Hindus. "The militants fired and ran away, and our houses and people were burnt," cries Abdul Razaq. "Do they plan to kill us all and take our land? Why don't they bomb us all at once?"

On 7 October, a deputy commandant of the CRPF was shot in the head (he died later in hospital). An enraged CRPF battalion again went through their routine of setting fire to a crowded place. Nearby, at Noor Bagh in Srinagar city, a stretch of over four kilometres, has been completely razed to the ground. This incident took place on 8 October. The firing continued for over eight hours, and the blaze that followed could not be contained till the next day. A college nearby provides temporary shelter to the homeless.



BURNING OF ISLAMABAD

by Ghulam Nabi Khayal

This time it was Islamabad, comparatively a peaceful town, 50 km south-east of Srinagar. The Indian soldiers comprising troopers from the Central Reserve Police Force (CRPF) and the Border Security Force (BSF) set on fire about two hundred residential houses and an equal number of shops in densely populated localities of Chini Chowk, Malk Nag, Mohall Shah Sahib and Hazratbal, in the wake of a crossfiring between militants and the soldiers in which one BSF soldier and four civilians were killed. Three mosques including 300 year old Shrin of Shah Hamadan were also gutted in devastating fire. It was in the afternoon of October 27, 1990.

According to the Deputy Inspector General of Police, Radha Vinod Raju, the fire to the houses was caused due to cross-firing and that the CRPF men themselves informed the police about the incident, but local residents however said that security forces themselves torched houses with sprinkling gun-powder and petrol and then before igniting the fire. "They brought petrol from their vehicles even in their helmets," said a local shopkeeper whose shop

had been reduced to ashes.

The fire officer in Islamabad station, Bashir Ahmad Abbasi, confirmed that security forces did not allow about six fire fighting vehicles to proceed to burning areas for about two hours. He said that driver of the leading vehicles, Ghulam Mohiuddin, was shot at by the Indian soldiers right from the front smashing the glass panes of the vehicle and also injuring him seriously. Ghulam Mohiuddin was shot in his right hand which severed his three fingers and also in the chest. Blood stains were still there on the drivers's seat of the vehicle. His three severed fingers had been buried in the premises of the fire office. Abbasi also complained that about one hundred soldiers entered the fire office and beat up firemen severely. "They dragged out one of our officer, Ghulam Mohammad Butt, and tied him with ropes after beating him mercilessly," he said.

Mohammad Shafi Pichoo, a middle aged tailor, said, "They sprinkled gun-powder on our houses and set them on fire. They even dragged out my wife holding her by neck. I could hardly save my life in a volley of bullets fired on people by them."

Mohammad Azad, a local businessman, said that one 22-year old Mohammad Altaf Shapoo tried to rescue himself from the soldiers but they also dragged him out of his house and shot at him from point blank. "These beasts then tried to throw his body into a burning house but some courageous women took possession of the body." He also added that during torching of the houses, the troopers shouted at inmates calling them "rascals and terrorists" and threatening them with shouts like, "Come out, you dogs and take freedom from us,"

In the premises of a local mosque was lying the body of 15-year school going student. Rohail Mohammad, laid on a cot and covered with blood-soaked white sheet of cloth. He had been shot in his lower abdomen "Can you believe that he could be a militant, as the D.I.G. Police has told you? asked his bearded father, Ghulam Mohammad Butt, 42, and employee in the education department. "I have given my dead son in sacrifice for the freedom of the Kashmiri nation and I am proud of him. I have no regrets," he said with tears in his eyes already dried up.

Mohammad Syed Shah, a member of the dissolved state Legislative Assembly, said, "The security forces cordoned off the burning houses and warned that no one should come out. This means they wanted to burn them alive. They somehow managed their escape from the back doors but properties and belonging with crores rupees could not be saved." One could see most of the fire-sufferers were still searching out from the rubble of the burnt houses and shops what could have been saved from the flames.

About twenty houses were still smouldering when I visited the areas the next day.

Despite having suffered great loss of life and property, the people in all the four localities demonstrated utmost urge to free themselves from the Indian occupation. "The people of Kashmir shall not rest and shall not abandon their guns till Indian are thrown out of this pious land of Kashmiris," said Mohammad Hussain Shah in an emotion-choked voice. His right hand been burned with the gun powder while he extinguished fire in some shops. A youngman, Farooq Ahmed, raised the slogan, "What we want," which was responded to with a thunderous "freedom" by about two hundred people gathered in the interior of the town.

Professor Shorida Kashmiri, a poet and writer, said it was a planned conspiracy to annihilate the Kashmir Muslims and destroy their properties. "Why don't they burn houses of the Sikhs in Punjab. They will not, because it is only the Muslims who are to be made their target.

The entire town looked like a graveyard after indefinite curfew had been imposed by the forces simultaneously with torching of the houses. One could see main doors of the houses located in Nabi Basti on the main road locked from outside and inmates fled to other places in fear and panic. Hundreds of gun totting soldiers of the BSF and CRPF were patrolling deserted streets in the town and even curfew passs of civilians were not entertained by them. "They do not allow even us to go inside affected localities," said A.R. Shah, an officer in the Kashmir police.



Weekly Takbeer, Srinagar.
October 31 1990.

RAPE OF LAURA

She had arrived in Srinagar on October 7, 1990, from a trip to Ladakh and was lodged in a houseboat on the banks of Dal Lake along with he her three friends. Little did she know of the fate that awaited her in Srinagar.

Born in 1966, 24 year old Miss Laura Jane Lambie, a Canadian agricultural science student was on a stroll on October 11 on the boulevard in Srinagar when it was just getting towards darkness. Near the Centaru Hotel, she started having a chat with three local boys asking them about what was going on in Kashmir. She was immediately waylaid by personnel of the Indian National Security Guards (NSG) travelling in a white Maruti van. They were armed with automatic weapons and were also carrying a walkie-

talkie with them. One of them, tall slim, warned Laura not to get into conversation with the local Muslim youths. "All of them are very dangerous terrorists and can also molest you at this desolate spot" he told her.

When the guards asked as to who she was, she replied, "A Canadian." The guards then asked for her passport which they said was fake and not genuine. "You shall have to accompany us to the police station," and thus Laura was asked to board the vehicle.

Instead of any police station, Laura was taken to Oberio Palace Hotel where the guards had a drink from their own bottles because the bar in the Hotel was closed. She did not drink though she was invited to do so. The guards then ordered her to board the vehicle again because they told her it was not safe for her to go back to houseboat at that late hour for, the Kashmiri militants could kill her at any spot. The guards also took away her purse. Laura was taken to a garden near Chashma Shahi. It was 1 a.m.. on October 12.

One of the guards directed Laura to undress but she did not oblige. Her clothes were then torn and she was laid on the ground and gangraped. She cried under the open sky but there was no one to listen to her moans and shriek except the sleeping state Governor, Girish Saxena, who must have been in deep slumber in Raj Bhavan, which is situated only a few hundred yards from the scene of incident. For a change, Laura was taken to another adjacent garden and the gang-rape by five guards of the helpless victim continued. Finally, she fell unconscious.

Semi-conscious Laura was then dropped on the roadside, at a slight distance away from where she had been picked up the previous evening. On being sighted by the locals, she was carried to the police station at Nehru Park where a case for kidnapping and rape was registered under section 366 and 376 of the Ranbir Penal Code under First Information Report No 90/04. The police officer at the station recommended a medical examination of the victim and Laur was taken to Lal Ded Womens Hospital in Srinagar.

"All Indian men are scoundrels, I'll not permit you to examine me," Laura shouted at the male doctor in the hospital. Two lady doctors then examined her ascertaining that "dead sperms were found in her uterus and in the passage leading to it. There were scratches on her thighs, back, arms and breast only to testify that she had resisted.

Ms. Laura Jane Lambie told pressmen that very day how brutally she was raped by the "security" guards. The matter when brought to higher authorities in the state and also when it was taken up with the government of India by the Canadian High Commission

in New Delhi, the state police registered a case against the guards arresting two of them whom Laura had conveniently identified in a batch of sixty four guards paraded before her. She recognised them despite the fact, that both of them had shaven off their beards. Ms. Laura was kept in protective custody by the state authorities.

The authorities acted so swiftly in view of the Canadian government taking a serious notice of the incident and it was in a record time that inquiry was conducted and culprits punished.

Here lie the difference between rape of a foreign and that of a Kashmiri lady. The latter is treated as an allegation and passes off unnoticed and unwept.



Toronto Star , Canada.
November 3, 1990.

Editorial

Pakistan, Muslim secessionists have battled soldiers to a sullen standoff . "

"In Kashmir, the only Muslim-majority province in India, the million Muslims are demanding a referendum to determine if they should remain in India, join Pakistan or become independent. This 40-year-old plea has now taken a revolutionary fervor. "

"New Delhi responded by suspending civil liberties and deploying 650,000 troops who have killed, raped, tortured and destroyed villages, leaving at least 1,000 dead. Canada - we gave India \$115 million in aid last year - must join international groups in protesting these widespread human rights abuses."



The wall street Journal , California.
November 9, 1990.

VALLEY OF DEATH

by James P. Stera

Kashmir Stands As a Violent Reminder

They pick up the bodies in the morning light, shooing away any dogs that find the corpses before the curfew ends.

Less than a year ago the vale of Kashmir was still a romantic little valley full of orchards and terraced rice fields goatherds and wool weavers, ornate wooden houseboats on glistening lakes, and tourists marvelling at views of Himalayan peaks in every direction.

Today it is more like a altitude Beirut. Gun battles between Kashmiri Moslem secessionists and Indian security forces have claimed nearly 2,000

lives so far this year. The valley floor is an eerie landscape of charred villages and bombed-out buildings, sandbagged bunkers and barbed-wire barricades, shuttered shops, abandoned neighborhood and fresh mounds of dirt from newly dug graves.

Last year, tourists still came. Now the economy is comatose. Last year disgruntled students threw rocks. Now they wield shiny new Kalashnikov rifles and rocket launchers from Pakistan. Last year, the Indian government had some popular support. Now, most Kashmiris appear to back the guerrillas.

Kashmir has endured as a festering sore in India-Pakistan relations for more than 40 years, nearly sparking a fourth war between the two countries last spring. But it has come to represent something more in recent months. As this country spirals into sectarian and religious violence, Kashmir is emblematic of one of this nation's greatest burdens: Hindu and Moslem still share only a tentative common ground in India.

"The '90s threaten to be the most critical decade in the history of free India," writes Dileep padgaonkar, editor of the times of India Review of Books. Acknowledging the chronic problems of poverty, malnutrition, illiteracy, population growth and insurgencies, he notes: "India is also witness to the [rapid] growth of militant religious organizations whose actions are polarizing Indian society along altogether alarming lines." Kashmir is but one of many casualties. This week, the upheaval spreading across this country claimed the administration of Vishwanath Pratap Singh, India's prime minister for the past 11 months.

BJP helped patch together a rulling coalition that made V.P. Singh prime minister last November. And it was the BJP that called for and still supports a military crackdown against moslem guerrillas in Kashmir.

"We are hard-headed realists," says Kedar Nath Sahani, a BJP general secretary. "The only remedy in Kashmir is for the government to assert its authourity. We must be stern and strong. People must obey orders."

Kashmir, officially called the state of Jammu and Kashmir, is about the size of Utah and has a population of more than six million. Roughly two-thirds of its people are Moslem, making it India,s only Moslem - majority state. The Vale of Kashmir is a valley 85 miles long and 20 miles wide.

The seeds of Kashmir's current troubles were planted during the 1947 partition. At the time, the subcontinent contained, in addition to areas administered by the British, 565 so-called princely states ruled by local maharajas and comprising 40% of India's land and 30% of its people.

Lord Louis Mountbatten, then the British Viceroy of India, strong-armed most of the maharajas into joining eiter India or Pakistan. Hari Sing, the maharaja of Jammu and Kishmir, however, didn't want to join eiter nation.

"In his heart my father still did not believe that the British would actually leave," says the maharaja's son, Karan Singh, who lives today in New Delhi.

FATEFUL DECISION

By independence day, Hari Singh still hadn't decided. Two months later, Moslem tribesmen from Pakistan poured into the valley seeking to seize Kashmir. Indian forces couldn't save Kashmir, said Mountbatten, unless Hari Singh agreed to accede to India. He did, and Indian troops were airlifted into Srinagar the next morning. They have been there ever since.

"Not for 25 years have we seen such a mass uprising in the valley," says Rajiv Gandhi, leader of the opposition Congress (I) party and India's former prime minister. The only thing close, in fact, occurred in 1964. That year, Moslim Kashmiris rioted after a whisker said to be from the beard of the Prophet Moammad, the so-called Holy Relic, disappeared from a local mosque. It reappeared six days later.

Kashmiris blame Mr. Gandhi and his mother, Indira Gandhi, for creating the frictions in Kashmir during the last decade by allegedly rigging election and allowing corruption to burgeon unabated. But Mr. Gandhi contends the policies of V.P. Singh actually lit the match in Kashmir.

Last December, Mr. Singh traded five jailed Moslem militants for the kidnapped daughter of India's home minister, and that emboldened militants in the region, contends, Mr. Gandhi. "A feeling was instantaneously spread through the valley that the terrorists have the upper hand and they say, 'The day they released these terrorists, about 200,000 were on the street.'"

Matters only got worse. Trying to restore order, the Indian authorities undertook house-to-house searches, inflaming passions even more, says Mr. Gandhi. "Almost the whole town of Srinagar is out in the roads, in winter, until 4 a.m. I told them you're pushing people to hold them." Soon the Indian governor of Kashmir had ousted virtually all Moslems from positions in the local bureaucracy, and the violence was out of control.

So far, some 50,000 Hindu families have fled the region. Most of them now live in tents around Jammu city, 95 miles to the south and outside the valley. They say Moslem militants scared them away. Moslems claim the Indian government moved them so it could more easily kill Moslem Kashmiris. Roughly 60 militant Moslem groups now operate in the region, some seeking an independent state, others seeking Kashmir's annexation by Pakistan.

Across the Border

Pakistan says some 20,000 Kashmiris have also fled into the part of Kashmir it has Indian claims many of them are militants who have gone to Pakistan for "terrorist training" and who come back as infiltrators. In the ravines leading to the valley, Indian border guards have been ambushing

suspected infiltrators and smugglers carrying fresh caches of Kalashnikovs, rocket launchers and machine guns-army surplus from the war in Afghanistan.

As the sun sets, the valley's surrounding mountains seem to sparkle. But for the people of Srinagar this is a time to hurry home, not to take in the scenery. Curfew is at dusk, and trigger fingers starts to itch soon thereafter. Once the amplified evening prayers from the mosques fall silent, only barking dogs and guns are heard in the night. The crack of a rifle is answered by a canine cacaphony and an eruption of distant gun fire that sounds like exploding popcorn.



The Sunday, Calcutta.
November 17, 1990.

HOW GREEN IS THE VALLEY A LONG AND BITTER WINTER LIES AHEAD FOR THE KASHMIRIS

"Girish Saxena's Kashmir seems more normal than Jagmohan's, but the calm is deceptive. 'Things have only got worse,' admit's a senior bureaucrat. 'Just because the national press has lost interest in Kashmir doesn't mean the state has stopped burning. "

"And Kashmir is literally in flames. Unable to cope with the guerrilla tactics adopted by the militants, the paramilitary forces are retaliating by torching entire settlements and villages. But instead of achieving its desired aims, such inhuman and brutal measures, have only alienated the people further and there are very few Kashmiris left in the Valley who have a kind word for the government. Hassan, a wealthy carpet-dealer, says he didn't try to stop his son when he decided to join the azadi movement. 'Instead, I gave him a pair of snow-boots that cost me Rs.1,000/-. Even six months ago, I would have tried to dissuade him, but today we have no option left but to fight back. "

"The administration, however, keeps reiterating that 'the masses are fed up with militancy. But there is no evidence of it anywhere. The people on the contrary, do all they can to shield their 'boys who are fighting for a cause'. Even the moderates of yesteryears have been forced to adopt a militant posture solely because of the excesses perpetrated by the armed forces.

"An interesting fact emerges from the meeting with the militants that behind the facade of the. gun-toting militant is a well-organised and formidable network of intellectuals, lawyers, doctors, engineers professors who mastermind the movement and give it direction."



*Voix de La Paix, Fort Louls, Maurielus.
November 14, 1990.*

KASHMIR IS STRUGGLING FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

"Blood is again being shed in Kashmir. The struggle against Indian oppression has been transformed into the revolt of the people in this paradise valley. Hundreds of persons have been killed in the firing by the Indian army on the demonstrators demanding the liberation of Kashmir from the unpopular yoke of New Delhi.

The Kashmiris are more than ever ready to launch a Jihad against the Indian administration because the Indian army has not hesitated to utilise repression and torture to try to break down a nation which wants its liberation.

To fight with the civilians, New Delhi has deployed six arm divisions and an Air force unit. Foreign journalists are no longer authorised to enter Kashmir. The Indian Police has become an accomplice in the violation of human rights in this State by proceeding to primary arrests, illegal searches, attacks on women and horrible massacres.

According to a report published by an Indian human rights organisation atrocities are being committed in Kashmir by the soldiers of the Central Reserve Police Force, of the Border Security Force and even of the regular army.

Many leaders of the Islamic States now think that it is time to apply economic sanctions against India and oblige it to stop its attacks against the civilians of Kashmir. However, the settlement of the problem rests on the conduct of a just and impartial referendum.



*The Washington Post.
November 16, 1990.*

KASHMIRIS DESCRIBE INDIA RESORTING TO ARSON IN REBEL WAR by Steve Coll

"Indian security forces unable to quell a broadly popular secessionist uprising in disputed Kashmir state are burning houses and shops in this valley, killing dozens of civilians and rendering thousands homeless as winter approaches, according to witnesses."

"During the last several months, a dozen major fires have erupted in Srinagar, Anantnag, Handwara, Sopore and other Kashmiri towns where Muslim militants are pressing a violent secessionist campaign. In virtually every case, witnesses report that Indian troops set houses and shops on fire with flammable powder and gasoline immediately following an ambush

attack by guerrillas . "

"Suspicious fires break out in Kashmir at least once a week, but the most recent big blaze occurred October 27 here in Anantnag, a city of about 200,000. Fire chief Bashir Abbasi got the call two hours after a guerrilla attack on soldiers in the city. Flames were sweeping through the crowded China Square section. Abbasi and his men climbed in their firetrucks and, raced to the scene."

"Indian paramilitary forces greeted them with gunfire, according to Abbasi and other firemen. Two bullets struck fireman Ghulam Ganai, severing a finger and wounding him in the chest. His firetruck crashed when he slumped at the wheel."

"Indian troops shuttled back and forth to the flames, toting gasolin in their steel helmets and spreading flammable powder on the floors of houses not yet ablaze, according to about a dozen independent witnesses. Challenged by China Square residents, the soldiers reportedly answered, 'This is your freedom! See your freedom!'"

"Today, China Square is a heap of bricks and rubble. More than 100 homes, dozens of shops and three mosques were destroyed in the fire. Residents pick through the remains of their houses, pulling out gnarled appliances and raking debris into neat piles."

"The fires here and across Kashmir mark a new and destructive phase in the stalemated civil warfare between Kashmir's Muslim majority population and the government of Hindu-majority India. The violence in Kashmir has claimed and estimated 2,000 lives this year. "

"Long-simmering grievances among Kashmir's Muslim population erupted into open rebellion last January. Although the' indigenous uprising is widely popular with Kashmiris, the conflict has been complicated by rivalry between India and Pakistan over the state. "

"India claims sovereignty over Kashmir, while Pakistan supports Kashmiri militants and urges that residents be allowed to choose their future in a plebiscite. "

"Pressed for evidence to support - the oft-repeated claim that Muslim guerrillas have set many of the fires - a claim few Kashmiris believe - for senior government and paramilitary officials said that earlier this month, Muslim militants fired rockets at firetrucks attempting to reach a blaze in Budgam, 10 miles from the Kashmir capital of Srinagar. The officials implied that the blaze was set by militants, who then shot any firemen to prevent them from putting it out."

"But Badgam's fire chief, Ghulam Rather, said there was no such fire on the night in question, guerrillas fired a rocket at paramilitary forces bunkered next to the fire house, he said. The rocket missed and blew a small

hole in the fire station's wall, causing no injuries, Rathar said."

"Ten months after the Kashmir uprising began in earnest, the militants appear to be far from independence or accession to Pakistan, but the Indian government appears to face deepening alienation among the Kashmiri population. "

"Continuing excesses by Indian troops in the Valley-including the abduction and rape last month of a Canadian woman vacationing in Srinagar, for which two paramilitary officers have been dismissed pending charges- have fueled the anger of militants and ordinary Kashmir alike. "

"Dozens of Kashmiris in three cities said in interviews that they were determined to fight the Indian forces indefinitely, despite recent hardships caused by fires , strikes , power outages and economic decline. "



The Telegraph , London.
November 17, 1990. '

"The 15,000 refugees who have crossed from India this year are not so lucky. Many of them have horrific reports of rape, torture and beatings at the hands of the Indian soldiers in Kashmir. Bibi Ghuljan, a 25-year -old mother of three, walked for six days across the snow to reach Pakistan. She says India troops forced the village to watch as they raped her neighbour and then burned their houses. They treat us worse than animals , she said. "

"Foreign journalists and monitoring groups are banned from Indian Kashmir. "

"Undeniable are reports of the size of the Indian presence in the Kashmir Valley. Conservative estimates suggest a quarter of a million army, police and paramilitary personnel are stationed in and around Srinagar. "

"They have emergency powers which allow them to shoot on sight. The burning of houses used by suspected militants is also common. Inevitable innocent people are caught up in this turmoil. "

"One militant, Zamir Khan, 17, who says he was tied to a tree while Indian soldiers raped his sister is not interested in the strategic overview. He wants to go back and fight. "



The Observer, London.
November 16, 1990.

IF KASHMIRI'S SPIRIT CAN NOT BE BROKEN, THEN BONES WILL DO

DESPITE himself, the young doctor at the hospital in Srinagar was impressed. "The roller is a rather clever new machine," he said. "Two soldiers sit on it as it is slowly rolled further up a prisoner's legs. It doesn't break the bones; it just crushes the surrounding membrane. It's actually more painful."

The hospital staff had just had some first-hand experience of cruder military interrogation techniques. A few hours earlier some Indian troops had burst in during the night curfew, demanding to know if the doctors were treating any terrorists, claiming that shooting had come from the direction of the tiny hospital.

The radiologist had been beaten up another laboratory technician had been tied from the ceiling so that he was barely standing on the ground on tiptoe. "Done properly, the strain on the calf muscles is so great it is difficult to walk for weeks afterwards, explained the doctor clinically.

Other staff showed the bruises they had got from rifle butts. It is a small, shabby hospital smelling of old blood and fresh dirt. Crowds mill around in the corridors and wards and the harassed young doctors give patients cursory examinations in unhygienic conditions. It used to treat wounded Indian soldiers as well, but these are now flown to Delhi.

The rape victims are treated at Srinagar's other hospital. The army denies many of the rape charges but the doctors say they have treated a lot and that many women do not come forward because of the shame in a strict Muslim society.

So this is the famed paradise on earth. Most of the shops in Srinagar are closed, even though the curfew is now only for 12 hours a day. There are troops every 50 yards, killings every day—both of Indian soldiers and of what the army call 'militants'.

You soon realise, however, that every Kashmiri is a militant if militancy means passionately wanting to be free of India.

In the middle of the Kashmiri valley, around Baramulla, there are secret training camps where boys, some as young as 10 or 12, are given rudimentary training with Pakistani-supplied weapons.

In Baramulla itself the army dumps the bodies of terrorists it has caught crossing the border from Pakistan. The rhetoric drummed into the children from one of the 144 diverse militant groups is about the fight for independence; but the training is in how to kill Indian soldiers, how to fire

weapons, how to make a crude landmine to blow up a Jeep.

All the groups may have marginally different aims, ranging from Muslim fundamentalism, through union with Pakistan to an independent Kashmir State.

Ironically, the violence in Kashmir has escalated as the situation has become less of an international threat. Pakistan and India are less keen to go to war over the issue than they seemed a year ago, but the determination of the Kashmiri people to continue the fight is, if anything, increasing.

Along with all other 250,000 government employees in Kashmir, the staff of both hospitals have been on strike for the past two months. Everyone works as an unpaid volunteer. Sometimes the treatment is rudimentary because of the shortage of materials, sometime because of prudence the soldiers stop and question people who are wearing bandages.

The strike has emphasised the siege mentality in Kashmir and heightened its feeling of betrayal and isolation. Tourism, the state's main industry, with 11 flights day into Srinagar in the old days, seems nigh on finished.

Anantnag is a small city about 50 miles from Srinagar. If many tourists still came to Kashmir they would pass through it on the wondrously beautiful road from Jammu to Srinagar. The journey would take a long time because of the numerous checkpoints and searches. Buses are stopped and the male occupants made to walk in single file past a wall, behind which stands a hooded informer or someone who has succumbed to the rollers.

In the centre of Anantnag the tourists would now see long avenues of rubble where 230 small houses and 100 shops stood a week ago. The town's elders sit in the middle of a dusty square on coloured carpets and collect a small pile of money for the homeless who numbly pick among the debris.

Last week, Indian troops descended on Anantnag and there was a gun battle with militants. Afterwards people claim the troops went into houses saying this was where the shooting came from, although the villagers deny it.

Then there were explosions in about five buildings. In half an hour the whole area was in flames and troops prevented fire engines from arriving. In nearly every small town you pass there are at least three or four burnt-out houses.

In a village in the Kashmir valley, an old woman is distraught with emotion. Trembling, she drags the visitor into a room where her husband and son lie on rugs covered with blankets as winter approaches. Their faces and bodies are a mass of bruises caused, she says, by about 150 soldiers who smashed the village up.

As news spreads that a foreign journalist is around, the room fills up with

people bursting to tell, to yell their own stories of indignity and pain. Eventually the door has to be locked against the pressure of the noisy crowd outside.

The precious communal television set, brutally smashed, is brought forward as evidence of the soldiers' wanton violence. 'They are plunderers and looters, not security people.'

The local police turn up and say that the army will not allow them to investigate any complaints. The army and the paramilitary police are suspicious of foreigners and refuse to comment on allegations.

Or may be they don't care any more. If the Indians cannot win the hearts and minds of the Kashmiris, they seem quite willing to crush their bones.



Economic And Political Weekly, Bombay.
November 24, 1990

"It seems that common sense is dawning upon some Kashmiri Pandits who had migrated from the strife-torn Valley to Jammu and other places early this year. If one is to go by letters appearing in the local Srinagar Urdu, press, the migrant Pandits living in refugee camps in Jammu are realising now that their massive fleeing was perhaps unwarranted, and that they had, become pawns in the communal games of the BJP-Shiv Sena politicians. They openly acknowledge their mistakes and are expressing their desire of returning to the Valley."

"An interesting exchange between some among the Pandit refugees on the one hand, and Kashmiri- Muslims (including representatives of a militant organisation) on the other, in the columns of the Srinagar daily *Alsafa News*, indicates the changing mood and also reveals the machinations of the former governor 'Jagmohan' of the Kashmiri Pandits in February-March this year. One K.L. Kaul living in the Nagrota Transit Camp in Jammu wrote letter in the paper (dated September 18) stating that Jagmohan sent a message to the Pandits of the Valley in the first week of February to migrate to safer places since the government and planned to kill about 150,000 Kashmir Muslims in its bid to overcome the uprising. 'Pandits were assured' the letter says, 'that once the massacre of the Kashmir Muslims was completed and the government was curbed, they would be sent back to the Valley. That is why most of the Pandits left without their belongings'.

"The responses from the Kashmiri Muslims suggest the spirit of communal harmony still survives in the Valley. Barring one letter-whose author is opposed to the return of the Pandits-almost all the letters that appeared in the newspaper appreciate the desire of the Pandits to make amends and come back. They remind their erstwhile belongings are still intact and well taken care of, express sympathy for their plight in the Jammu refugee camps, gently rebuke them for having deserted their Muslim

brethren at the behest of the BJP and Hindu communal organisations and ask them to condemn the atrocities by the security forces.

"Meanwhile, 23 Kashmiri Pandits refugees living in Jammu in a letter in the same newspaper (September 22) came out with the disclosure that they were threatened with 'dire consequences' by the authorities if they did not obey Jagmohan's order to leave the Valley early this year. Acknowledging that they 'knowingly or unknowingly committed a great blunder by playing our part in communalising the situation and the freedom struggle', they condemned 'the atrocities that are being unleashed on our brothers by the Indian occupation forces.'"



Newsweek,

November 26, 1990.

A BRUTAL CRACKDOWN

by Ron Moreau.

Indian troops, according to Muslims, are 'killing Kashmiris to save Kashmir' (

Maimuna Akhter, a 30-year-old Muslim housewife, was at morning prayer in her up stairs bedroom in Srigananar, the capital of Kashmir, when a gunfight between pro-independence guerrillas and Indian paramilitary police broke out in the street below. A stray bullet hit her as she went to the window. Another bullet struck her 7-year-old daughter beside her. But when panic-stricken relatives carried the two bleeding victims into the street to rush them to the hospital, Indian troops refused to let them pass. "The Indian soldiers pointed their guns at us and shouted, 'Stay home! Let them die here!'" Maimuna's 12-year-old son, Mohammad Ramzan Rigoo, recalls. "The Indians hate us that much." The daughter survived; the troops finally allowed her to be taken to the hospital. But Maimuna bled to death at home—a victim, in the eyes of her mourning family and neighbors, of India's hated military occupation of predominantly Muslim Kashmir.

Her death contributed another martyr to the cause of Kashmiri independence. The struggle has grown increasingly violent over the past 12 months. Young, independence-minded militants many armed and trained in neighboring Pakistan have launched a ruthless guerrilla war against the authority of predominantly Hindu India. India's response has been massive and brutal. The government in New Delhi has sent tens of thousands of Army and paramilitary troops into the Kashmir Valley and surrounding mountain villages with orders to crush the rebellion. But India's repressive methods only created new recruits and additional support for Kashmir's "India Out, Independence Now" movement. "Morally and politically we are behind the militants," says Altaf Hussein, a Srinagar physician. "There are no differences between an armed militant's aspirations and mine."

Srinagadr itself resembles a city under siege. Indian Army light machlkine guns and automatic rifles poke out from sandbagged bunkers at every intersection and bridge. Police in steel helmets nervously stand guard at close intervals at the dusty, littered main streets and crouch in firing positions at corners where narrow, dark alleyways open into main thoroughfares. At countless road side check points, Indian security men order all pasengers out of buses, taxes and horse carts for thorough identity, body and luggage checks. Any suspicious young man is detained on the spot.

When security forces do come under hit-an-run fire from Kashmiri guerrillas, they react fiercely. Indian troops rake the surrounding area with automatic-weapons fire. Then they cordon off the neighborhood, declare a curfew and order people out of their housess. they foece men, women and children to stand like prisoners on the street as soldiers and hooded informants check identification papers. Troops search house-and often ransack them-losing for guns, explosives and hidden gunmen. Scores of suspected militants are rounded up in each such operation. Many are eventually released after questioning, but some simply dusaoear ithout a trace.

Several Indian and kashmiri humanrights groups estimate that more than 3,000 Kashmiris have disappeared, and that 2,000 people, mostly civilians, have died as a result of the conflict this year. Most, though not all, of the excesses, they say, have been committed by the security forces. Human-rights activisits say they have recorded hundreds of incidents of military personnel raping or sexually abusing Muslim women, usually during house-to-house searches. They also have compiled detailed accounts of hundreds of cases of torture in which detainees suffer beatings, electric shock, cigarette burns, are hung upside down and have hot chilis placed in their eyes and rectums.

According to humanrights groups in? Kashmir, Indian troops have deliberately set fire to more than 3,000 shops and homes this year during punitive raids on neighborhoods suspected of harboring guerrillas. "They are using scoched-earth tactics against us," says Mohammad Ashai, a civil engineer in Srinagar. Late last month, in a reprisal against guerrilla snipers, Indian paramilitary police stormed into the Chini Chowk quarter of Anantnag, a town 56 kilimeters south of Srinagar. They threw gasolinesoaked clothing and gunpowder into several brick-and-wood houses and ignited the explosive mixture. As the fire spread, resident say, Indian troops roamed the streets, ordering people to stay in their firethreatened homes. "Kill Kashmiris to save Kashmir!" residents clame the troops shouted. "They wanted to burn us out, burn us alive," said Ghulam Maqdoomi, a government employee. Residents say at least six people died in the fire, which destroyed 150 houses and a 500-year-old mosque. "The English colonials never treated us as badly as the Indian government," says Mukhar Ahmed, an anantnag resdent and logtime civil servant.

Accusations of torture are also on the rise. In Anantnag, the morning after last month's fire, troops from New Delhi's Central Reserve Police 53rd

battalion arrested a 30-year-old bookseller named Imtiaz Ahmed Mir. Relatives say they saw CRP men take him away. The next day his tortured body was found by a roadside. Distraught family members display snapshots of his corpse; dark bruises, cigarette burns and a bullet wound in the stomach can be clearly seen. Although the CRP has denied ever having arrested the man, the family filed a complaint with the local police. An official response seems unlikely. Members of the Jammu and Kashmir High Court Bar Association say they have filed 3,000 writs of habeas corpus in an effort to determine the fate of thousands of missing Kashmiris. None, they say, has been acted upon.

Most Kashmiris believe that India's sole objective is to crush separatism by force. "India is resorting to state terrorism, to an official reign of terror, to suppress demands for self-determination," says Mufti Bahaudin Farooqi, former chief justice of the Jammu and Kashmir People's Basic Rights Committee. With India showing no readiness to relax its steel grip, the suffering in Kashmir can only get worse.



The Citizen, Toronto.
December 4, 1990.

REFUGEES TRY TO ESCAPE CRISIS-TORN KASHMIR

Muhammad Abdullah Shah, a refugee school teacher points towards two men nearby with amputated legs and explains how some Kashmiri refugees have lost arms and legs after being tortured during interrogation. "

"The two are among 40 men, women and children who are victims of torture in a camp of 700 outside Muzaffarabad, the capital of the Pakistani-controlled state of Kashmir. "

"These refugees, who now live in roadside tents facing the mighty river Jhelum, have fled from Indian-controlled Kashmir. "

There is also growing evidence of human rights abuses during military operations. "

"Frequent house-to-house searches by security forces have been reported, with relief workers and refugees claiming that many women were raped and children physically abused. "

Shah and fellow refugees would not give details about the tortured women in their camp because this is "a matter of honour," they say. But they do admit there are rape victims among women refugees who have crossed the border. "

"One recently arrived refugee says many children remain terrified by

memories, of frequent house-to-house searches by soldiers, sometimes accompanied by trained guard dogs."

"Meanwhile, refugee assistance volunteers fear that as winter snowfalls block mountain passes during the next four weeks, all escape routes for refugees will be closed."

"They are concerned that military operations in Indian-controlled Kashmir will intensify during the next four months as security forces attempt to curb civilian support for resistance groups before next spring when the snow melts and passes reopen. "



The Christian Science Monitor, Boston.
December 5, 1990.

"For hours , Misra Keena had been searching the smoldering ruins of her house, but all she had to show for it were a few scorched pots. Less than week before, Kashmiri separatists had fired on a patrol of Indian paramilitary troops. The security forces retaliated by burning down two hundred houses in Anantnag and devastating a crowded neighbourhood in the old city, Kashmir's second largest. "

"I couldn't get anything out of the house. It was all so sudden, laments Mrs. Keena, the mother of five children. 'Look what they have done to us ! But still we will demand azaadi (freedom) . "

"Eleven months after India launched a crackdown on Kashmir's uprising, the people of this once idyllic Valley face a new security firestorm. Frustrated by persistent guerrilla attacks that have turned every road and highway into enemy territory, the security forces recently have torch parts of villages, towns, and cities in the search for suspected militants hideouts. "

"The wave of burnings have added new tales to the Kashmiris' litany brutality and humiliation under almost a year of virtual military rule. "

"Indian human rights activists say hundreds of people have been killed, scores of women have been raped, and thousands of residents have been repeatedly searched , beaten , and jailed'. "

"Endless weeks of curfew have deadened the once bustling cities and towns of this beautiful Valley in the shadow of the Himalayas."

"We have been compelled to secede from India, says lawyer Zahoor Ahmed Shah. 'When they are attacking our people and raping our women , how can we continue to be part of India?'"

"This seemingly irreversible alienation at all levels of Kashmiri society

has deepened what already is India's most dangerous crisis since independence in 1947 . "

"Kashmiris say their faith in secularism has been crushed by the military. A series of unashamedly rigged elections and these latest incidents have exposed the real nature of Indian democracy and secularism says Altaf Hussain , a doctor in Srinagar , the capital of Indian Kashmir. "

"A spokesman for the security forces turned down requests for an interview. "

"Resentment among the Kashmiris has hardened against the governor whom they say is more crafty and thus more dangerous than Jagmohan, his predecessor. It was Jagmohan who launched the crackdown in the state earlier this year. "

"Human rights activists say thousands of people have disappeared, many after sweeps by security forces which locals call 'crackdown'".

"The mother of 10-year-old Tahir Mikash is one of the disappeared. " In April , we were sleeping when the Indian Army came to search our house , says the boy from Kantawali, a village near the border with Pakistan. But my mother-we don't know where she is."

"There's a law of the jungle prevailing in Kashmir, says Mufti Bahauddin Farooqi, a former judge who monitors human rights abuses. He says 3 , 000 habeas corpus petitions have been filed for missing persons. "

"Justice is lying in cold storage while thousands of people rot in prisons."

"In Anantnag, Manzaar-ul-Islam, local commander of the Jammu and Kashmir Liberation Front, the largest militant group, denied reports that the uprising had been hurt by the recent capture of several key leaders or by discord among fractious militant organisations. "

"The people will rise up, and international pressure will build. The Kashmiri people are ready for any sacrifice. "

"We want freedom, said Ahmed. They have burned my house and beaten my son. But we want freedom. "



L' Express, Brussels
December 6, 1990.

"When the firing began, Ghulam Rasool Ganie was finishing his breakfast with his wife and his two children. It was the 1st of October in Hanwara - a small town with some thousand inhabitants, nestled in the Kashmir Valley in the north-west of India. The sun was rising. From the nearby bazar, cries of pain, cries of hate answered to machine guns. Panicking Ghulam fled with his family across the country. Five days later when he decided to go back home, his house was in ruins. Burnt down like the rest of the area. Since then, the whole family lives in a borrowed tent. Their two cows and two buffalos are dead burnt alive. So Ghulam works the land. Who set fire to the village? According witnesses it was the Indian army. 'Muslim separatists', retorted the military commander of the region. The military prevented firemen from putting out the fire, accuses Hanwara's population. On that day 85 houses and 300 shops were destroyed and 27 civilians were killed."

"A year ago, the Kashmir Valley resembled - paradise on earth. In the space of a few months, an atmosphere of war was established in the region. More than a thousand people have died in fighting. Its forces have special powers, which allow for example, superior officers to destroy a building, or even kill a man without having to justify himself."

"The curfew is imposed between 6pm and 5am, electricity is rare and food supplies scarce, so that some foreigners swear that they have found dog meat or cat meat in their plate instead of the beef featured on the menu. Thousands of idle young people have swapped catapults and stones for rocket launchers and kalashnikovs. The handful of holiday makers who still dare to go to Srinagar today understand their mistake on the road that links the airport to the town-center. When the road is not barred by the security forces, it offers the spectacle of buildings in ruins, closed shops and deserted districts. In front of the tourist information office, the barrel of a machine-gun emerges from a bunker."

"Kashmir is the only region in India where there are more Muslims than Hindus: they represent 65% of the population. Logically, the territory should have gone to Islamic Pakistan at the time of the partition in 1947. The Indian promise of a referendum remained a dead letter."

"The Muslims, the majority, still suffer from discrimination with regards to the access to administrative jobs, and above all in enrolling in the secondary schools and technological colleges in Srinagar."

"For a year now, several thousand refugees have gone to Pakistan. Delhi calls them terrorists, but amongst those who, at the peril of their lives, cross the border, are entire families and elderly couples, civil servants, farm employees, shepherds. Showing their Indian identity paper some affirm to have suffered brutality: torture in interrogations center with electricity from jeep batteries, several rapes were also reported."

Associations form the defense of human rights in India have denounced these actions."

"By legal ways or by use of arms , we want to remind the world of the people's right to self-determination' explains a militant. "



The Sunday,
December 8, 1990 .

"Faced with mounting extremism in Punjab and Kashmir, the V.P Singh government said goodbye to civil liberties and resorted to repressive measures to contain the deteriorating situation in the two states ."

"The repressive measures only added to the militants' rank. "

"For the ordinary Kashmiri, the 11 months were a dark period in the history of the State . V.P. Singh left Kashmir in a bigger mess."

"Everywhere, people rose in revolt against the excesses perpetrated by the security forces. Kashmir was perhaps lost forever."

" Jagmohan: His policy of repression alienated the Kashmiris further."

"Although many detenus in Kashmir have been released during the 11 month period this year, several thousand are still said to be languishing in jails throughout the country. And, most of them without valid reasons or a fair trial, says Amnesty International. The agency is especially concerned about the Terrorist and Disruptive Activities (Prevention) Act (TADA), 1985, and the National Security Act-these two legislations have been frequently used by successive governments whenever trouble has broken out because they do not contain even the minimum safeguards against their abuse. The TADA, which is in force in both Punjab and Kashmir, provides the authorities with the power to detain anyone for a period of one year without trial. Many times , the Act has been misused. "

"Recently, the Act has been extended to Kashmir as well, where security forces are torching entire villages and settlements in the name of destroying militant hideouts. And, under the Act, the security forces enjoy legal immunity. Amnesty International believes that such measures give the administration powers to harass anyone found opposing the government."

"There is yet another cause for concern for Amnesty International. Indian courts have rarely granted compensation to victims of human rights violations. In fact, the judiciary has taken an inordinately long time to settle such cases. Which gives enough time to the administration and the police to harass and wean away witnesses. What is more, in many instances again in Punjab and Kashmir, the security forces have not even responded to court notices. And in the troubled Valley, violence has severely affected the

functioning of the courts. In September, a lawyer of the Srinagar High Court reported that around 3,000 habeas corpus petitions were pending, but there was no progress in the hearings as the courts were 'near defunct.'

"Amnesty also notes that whenever instances of human rights violations were brought to the notice of the government, it dismissed them saying that the allegations were made to discredit the administration and the security forces."



The Sunday,
December 15, 1990.

"Even before the V.P. Singh regime could settle down, Kashmir, which was in turmoil all through Rajiv Gandhi's tenure, flared up."

"The Valley gradually slipped out from the grip of the V.P. regime. All political processes in the Valley collapsed and the of the situation. The state administration proved unequal to meet the challenge as thousands of Kashmiri who danced in the streets of Srinagar to celebrate the release of the militants. The cries of "Azaadi" rent the air and nearly every day; the Indian tricolour was burnt at street-corner meetings .

"Not once in his 11 months in power did V.P. Singh visit Kashmir. That could be explained by the fact that it would have proved futile, anyway. Unlike in Punjab, where large political gatherings and meetings are still possible, the situation in Kashmir did not allow for the people to come out of their homes to meet politicians, or for the matter, almost anyone who advocated India's cause. But even as allegations of police excesses poured in, the Prime Minister continued to give the Mufti and Jagmohan a free hand almost keeping himself away from the crisis. "

"The removal of Jagmohan and the appointment of Girish Chandra Saxena, a former RAW chief, was yet another signal to the Kashmiri people that there would be no deviation from the hard line on Kashmir. The Disturbed Areas Act was imposed on the state, which empowered security forces to destroy any place which harboured militants. And while Kashmir burnt, entire settlements and villages were torched with frightening regularity over the last three months , V. P. Singh fiddled. "

"We shall remember these 11 months as the darkest period in our history, says -a Kashmiri politician. It will take a long time for the wounds that V.P. Singh had inflicted to heal, and it's not just the Kashmiris, but the entire country that will pay the price for it. "



Kayhan International, Tehran.
December 15, 1990.

"Muslims are being slaughtered by Indian troops in Occupied Kashmir because they demand that the U.N. resolutions passed years ago should be implemented. According to the U.N. resolutions passed in 1948 and 1949, India was bound to hold a plebiscite in the predominantly Muslim state of Kashmir so that the Kashmiris could decide their own future. New Delhi not only disregarded the U.N. resolutions but annexed Kashmir and declared it to be a part of India."

"Since mid-January violence has been rampant in the Kashmir Valley. As to-date, more than 1,500 Muslims have been killed by Indian security forces and tens of hundreds have been left crippled and homeless. Many houses have been gutted by fire. On a single night on October 7, as reported by Reuter, 163 houses were burnt down in old Srinagar. According to the same source, one week earlier 400 buildings in the Kashmir valley town a Handwara were reduced to ashes after Indian troops set fire to residential areas to flush out Muslim activists. On October 29, Indian paramilitary forces went on a rampage in another town setting fire to about 300 shops are killing at least eight people. Moreover, the troops prevented fire men from extinguishing the blaze."

"Earlier on September 23, in the small town of Sopore, 50 kilometers from Srinagar, after failing to arrest some Muslim activists there, Indian security forces became angry and torched the houses they suspected the targets were hiding in. When a local fire-truck arrived they stopped it and started shooting at it. Police and residents said the blaze destroyed about 60 shops and residential homes. They said soldiers also tried to rape local women and killed three men who tried to stop them."

"Ghulam Nabi Teli, a homeowner whose house was set ablaze by the troopers said, 'The soldiers sprinkled petrol on all of these houses and burned them.'"

"A 16-year-old girl named Mehobboba said soldiers took jewelry from her and burned household goods she had been accumulating for her upcoming wedding."

"They burned my house which I had constructed only last month, said Shaukat Hussein, a local businessman. 'They took away the ornaments of my wife.'"

"Zoon Bibi, 60, said troopers entered her home and attempted to rape her two daughters and her daughter-in-law. My two sons and my son-in-law prevented the soldiers from committing the rape, but the soldier dragged them out of the house and killed them, Bibi said. The above story was reported from Sopore by the correspondent of UPL."

"Cases of soldiers entering houses at night and committing gun-rapes are

regularly reported in the media. So much so that a Delhi-based human rights group, the Committee for Initiative on Kashmir, published a detailed account of rape and torture in the valley in August, concluding that there seems to make women the primary target of attack by security forces . "

"Notwithstanding what New Delhi has to say in justification of its actions, the truth is that India first occupied Kashmir and then declared it to be an Indian province.

"Even the Zionists in occupied Palestine are not treating the Palestinians as the Kashmiris are being treated by the occupying troops. "



The Telegraph, Calcutta.
December 20, 1990

US HUMAN RIGHTS TEAM KEPT OUT OF PUNJAB, KASHMIR

"The Indian government has "very sharply limited" monitoring of human rights in the troubled states of Punjab, Kashmir and Assam by declaring them off limits of civil libertarians, according to the head of a major US human rights group. "

"The three states were faced with a major problem of human rights violations but much of it was unreported because of the inability of activists to travel in those areas, said Mr. Aryeh Neier, the executive director of the New York-based "Human Rights Watch". He was speaking on the occasion of the release of the group's annual report here."

"He criticised the Indian government for refusing to allow a visit by members of Amnesty International. "

"The Indian government is unwilling to subject itself to human rights monitoring, Mr. Neier said: His group is one of the two most prominent groups in the United States after Amnesty International. "

"Mr. Neier said the "government had been acting "difficult with international groups. The V.P. Singh government announced it would allow Amnesty International: but then refused to discuss travel plans for the visitors. The former Prime Minister, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, threatened to personally go and stop members of Amnesty International from entering India. "

"The decision to initially allow Amnesty International was a result of increasing criticism within the US Congress against India. "

"But New Delhi was not prepared to allow Amnesty International to examine the situation just yet. "

The Guardian, London.
December 31, 1990.

"Seven young Kashmiris told yesterday how they survived a snowstorm ordeal only to be captured and tortured by Indian soldiers. Several had hands and feet amputated after troops allegedly beat them on their frost-bitten and gangrenous limbs."

"Ashaq Din, aged 20, an illiterate villager whose feet were both amputated, said: 'They (the soldiers) hit me hard, right on my frost-bitten feet with cane sticks and iron rods repeatedly for two days.'"

"A comrade, Ghulam Mohammad Dar, aged 21, told reporters: 'They perhaps wanted to deprive me of both my hands and feet. That's why they hit me on them again and again.' There were marks of beatings on his nose, head and back. He had lost a hand and a foot."

"Ghulam Ahmad Bhatt, aged 21, showed marks of cigarette burns on his hands. All the toes on his left foot and one on the right had been amputated."

"Mohammad Maqbool aged 20, a student from south Kashmir yet to be operated on, said: 'Let them make me also disabled, I will again join my Mujahideen brethren.'"



December 1990.

INTRODUCTION: KASHMIR BLEEDS

by N.H. R. & A. K. K.

Heaven on earth, *Al-Jannat fil Arz*, *Firdaus bar rooi zameen*, the Paradise of Indes, as such is known the Valley of Kashmir, for its heavenly and picturesque beauty. Urfi Shirazi, the renowned Persian poet, eulogizes the sylvan environ of Kashmir in a couplet saying:

Har sokhta janey ki ba Kashmir dar aayad

Gar murghi kabab ast ki ba baal-o-par aayad

Which means, if a roasted fowl is brought to Kashmir, not only shall it come to life, but shall be on its wings again.

This very Kashmir has now been turned into a hell. Would Urfi come to life again, he would say that if a bird flew to Kashmir to escape the scorching heat of the Punjab plains, he would drop dead and shall be consumed by the flames emanating from the fires, which the Indian para-military forces have been setting to thousands of houses, shops and business establishments across Kashmir Valley, rendering people homeless and deprived them of their means

of livelihood, besides destruction of property worth hundreds of crores of rupees.

"Kasheer", as the inhabitants of the valley call their homeland in official circles and outside the Valley, is known as Kashmir. This forms an administrative unit of the Himalayan state of Jammu and Kashmir. Kashmiris, a distinct ethnic group, also inhabit contiguous areas of Jammu region in Doda, Rajouri, Poonch districts, Gool Gulabgarh, Mahour, Dudu Basantgarh of Udhampur district and Bani areas of Kathua district. Kashmiri language is spoken in all these areas of Jammu region and ethnically and culturally, this forms a compact area along with the Valley of Kashmir. The population is predominantly Muslim. As per 1981-census, the population of this area exceeded 4.5 million, which presently should be near about 6 million people. This entire population, excepting that inhabiting Udhampur and Kathua districts, has been brought under the provisions of the 'Disturbed Areas Act'. This whole population is now subjected to worst type of oppression, quite unknown in history.

The Valley is under curfew since the beginning of 1990 and occasional lifting of curfew during part of a day is to be considered benign mercy on the subjects by the [Indian] rulers. Perhaps nowhere in the World must have curfew restrictions been imposed on about 4 million people from April 6 to April 23, 1990, continuously without any relaxation. What must have happened to about 8,500 expectant mothers, who delivered babies, and to the new-born, can only be imagined. About 1,500 people, who died natural deaths during this period had to be buried secretly, and how it was accomplished is beyond words to describe. Children were deprived of milk, old and sick of medicines and the youngmen of food.

The mass killings of civilians in Srinagar on January 20-21, 1990, by the Indian security forces and indiscriminate firing on peaceful mourners carrying the body of the assassinated religious leader, Mirwaiz Molvi Farooq, on May 21, resulting in instant death of about one hundred people, did somehow come to the knowledge of the people outside the state. It was in the wake of firing on Mirwaiz's funeral procession, that the Prime Minister of India, Chander Shekhar, said in the august house of the Indian Parliament, "with the reports coming in about the mass killings, we should hang our heads in shame". It was also due to Mr. Shekhar's strong exception taken to this uncalled for massacre, that state Governor Jagmohan was called back and divested for his office, most disgracefully.

On October 1, when the entire India was preparing for celebrating the Gandhiji's birth anniversary the following day, the

Indian security forces were busy in butchery and arson in Handwara town, 70 km north-west of Srinagar. Twenty five people were killed. Some fell dead with bullets. Those only injured were dragged and thrown into smouldering fire. Hundreds of houses and shops were burnt to ashes. Once a prosperous town, it is now a heap of burnt rubble. The state Governor Saxena, announced setting up of a commission of enquiry into the incident with all its members being police high-ups. In comparison, the Prime Minister of the Jewish state Israel too announced a commission of enquiry to probe into killing of 20 Palestinians at Jerusalem in October, wherein no member had to be from the police.

Promulgation of the 'Disturbed Areas Act' on July 5, 1990, for the entire Kashmir Valley and a 20-kilometre belt in border districts of Poonch and Rajouri in Jammu region, has only given an impetus to mass killings, arson and rape by those Indian forces, who are supposed to protect life, honor and property of the citizens. Even before this promulgation, massacre of Kashmiri Muslims had become a routine for the Indian soldiers. For instance, in 1989, a contingent of the Indo-Tibetan Border Police, travelling in an ambulance van, got into the Islamia College in old Srinagar and opened gunfire on students, who were protesting peacefully, against the university authorities. An enquiry has established that fire was opened on teenaged students without any justification, but no action was ever taken against the killers. It was during the regime of former State Chief Minister, Farooq Abdullah, that more than 100 people were shot dead by the forces even for voicing their genuine grievances including peaceful demonstrators protesting against unilateral hike in power tariff without supply of adequate electricity to the consumers. The protesters were fired upon and more than six persons shot dead.

These days, quite often, dead bodies of Kashmiri youngmen are seen floating in Jhelum river in Kashmir. These bear bullet marks or marks of torture on their bodies and, as no enquiries are conducted, it is speculated that they are killed in various interrogation centers and torture cells, set up at numerous places in and outside Srinagar city by the security forces. No record exists of young and old, who are picked up from roadside or from their residences for purposes of questioning by the forces. Several deaths caused to Kashmiri Muslim citizens in interrogation centers have been established beyond any doubt by impartial witnesses including investigation journalists hailing from Srinagar and outside the state.

The state of Kashmir has been ruled from New Delhi through its quislings right from 1947. They too have been thrown into prisons or in oblivion whenever they raised their voice against

discrimination adopted towards the Kashmiri Muslims in almost all walks of life. Even on the question of Indo-Kashmir accession, the doyen of the Indian politicians, Rajagopal Achari, had to say back in 1964, "The accession of Kashmir took place under conditions of great peril and for the purpose of getting immediate military assistance to save a helpless people from an unforeseen immoral external attack. It was not the intention to claim it as an irrevocable affiliation". The United Nations resolutions envisaged holding of a plebiscite in the state ascertain the wishes of the people regarding deciding about their political future. Both the governments of India and Pakistan accepted the resolutions. However, subsequently, India retracted on the pretext that Pakistan had joined the SEATO and the CENTO. It can be argued as to why the people of Kashmir be deprived of their basic right of self-determination for an act committed by Pakistan and not by those whose fate was to be decided? India asserts that the accession by the Maharaja of Kashmir had been ratified by the state constituent assembly, though India's own representative to the U.N. Security Council had categorically stated that the decision of the assembly would not have any bearing on the commitment made for holding of plebiscite. Also, the first elections to the state assembly, comprising 75 members, were so "fair and free" that all candidates were "elected unopposed" as the nomination papers of all undesirables were straightaway rejected without giving out any legal reason. That rest of the elections to the state assembly held since then were always fraudulent, has been acknowledged even in 1990, when Governor Jagmohan dissolved the assembly describing elections held to it in 1987 as "unfair and largely rigged".

In August 1956, Jawaharlal Nehru, while discussing Kashmir in the Indian Parliament, had said, "The strongest bonds that bind, will not be your armies, or even your constitution, to which so much reference has been made, but bonds which are stronger than constitution and laws and armies; bonds that bind through love, affection and understanding". Has this statement made by the first prime minister of a free India, ever been put to practice? The kind of affection showered upon the people of Kashmir is for anybody to see for himself. It is bullets, rape and arson and nothing else.

How is present attitude towards the Kashmiri people going to help. Is the present oppression and repression upon Kashmiris going to yield any results? How long will torture, arson, rape and killing by the security forces, established by the independent agencies, last? One can simply say that these methods are not going

to help at all. The Indian press and the electronic media are busy in making every effort to mislead the World through its deliberate disinformation about happenings in Kashmir.

However, there are exceptions to the rule. Some good Indian smartens have expressed themselves against unprecedented atrocities and excesses committed and the brute force that is being used to further suppress and subjugate the Kashmiri people. A humble attempt on our part to collate these reports and observations has been made. These are being reproduced in these pages along with some reports published in this context in the western press.

We are extremely grateful to a well-known and renowned friend and Kashmiri patriot whose active co-operation has enabled us to bring out this compilation. He has chosen to remain anonymous for, as he says, "My foremost priority has always been for working and not to publicize it. Also, I feel I'm already over-publicize". Our sincere thanks to him indeed.



December, 1990.

THE SITUATION OF KASHMIR IN OVERALL WORLD CONTEXT

by Rafique A. Khan

INTRODUCTION:

The underlying theme of my presentation today is centered around the concept that I have characterized as "YOM TO UNO" (Your Own Mohalla-Neighborhood To United Nations Organization).

This concept focusses on community organization and self-help strategies to gain freedom. Growing up in Kashmir, I, like most other Kashmiris, had a particular perception of the world beyond the mountains. After leavingh Kashmir, I experienced a different perspective. That perspective is the subject of this paper which I want to convey to the youth of Kashmir. This paper is divided into two parts. The first part discusses how the Kashmir struggle is perceived by us recommendations and describes the context for the Kashmir struggle.

1. KASHMIR STRUGGLE IN THE WORLD CONTEXT:

Every expatriate Kashmiri that I know is pround of, and admires, the young men and women of Kashmir. Kashmiris have broken the chains of bondage. Note that I said "have broken the chains of bondage". It is clear that India's use of deadly force on peaceful protesters means that it is no longer abole to manipulate Kashmiris.

India now has the shameful distinction of holding the world's worst record in human rights violation. The continuing brutality of the Indian army is of great concern, not only to Kashmiris, but also to nations which advocate human rights. It is reasonable to expect such nations to intervene on behalf of Kashmiris. Kashmiris have been promised the right of self-determination and have waited patiently for four decades for the United Nations, to fulfill this promise. It is with these expectations that Kashmiris continue to approach the representatives of the world community for their intervention.

However, it is apparent that in the world community, while sympathy and concern for human rights is readily obtained, actions to resolve problems are hard to find. World leaders base their actions generally on their own self interest and not on values of morality and/or a sense of justice alone. An example of this is illustrated by our encounter with an American-elected representative from the state of Maryland. This particular congresswoman first agreed to support and work for human rights issues in Kashmir. However, within one month, she backed out. I believe campaign contributions from an organized Indian community affected her decision. Her understanding or in her own congressional district.

To get support of the majority in the United States Congress, some 200 congressmen and 50 senators are needed. Such an effort is a formidable task. Even if achieved, the results of such an effort in terms of moving the Kashmir struggle forward would be marginal. Though some of us consider Kashmir to be the heart of Asia, in the context of global politics it is just another "hot spot". World powers and the institutions that they control deal with the problems where their self interests-both economic and political-are affected. Given this state of affairs, the American policy towards Kashmir, which the Washington officials describe as "Kashmir dilemma", in my opinion, is to contain the conflict. Their main concern is to avoid a nuclear war on the Indian subcontinent. Therefore, the basic issue of self-determination and freedom for Kashmir is relegated to the background. Clearly, the world community remains misinformed about the Kashmir struggle. India has launched a world-wide campaign to project the Kashmiris half a century old struggle for selfdetermination as a recent secessionist movement inspired by Islamic fundamentalism. India projects the present struggle in Kashmir as terrorist campaign engineered by Pakistan. This propaganda is aimed to appeal to the worst fears of western democracies. Unless we, the expatriate Kashmir will increasingly be misunderstood by the world community.

There is also a perception that the Kashmir freedom movement is now turning into a turf war between groups of young men with Kalishnikovs. We are told that the civilian population is terrorized by groups of uncontrollable armed men, some of whom demand ransoms at gun point. Are there many competing groups of young men in Kashmir? Are they the freedom fighters who will lead a liberated Kashmir, or terrorists who will eventually cut each other down and perish? I do not want to give the

impression that I question the legitimacy of the armed struggle. Nor do I suggest that armed struggle has no place in the Kashmir freedom movement. I want to distinguish disciplined armed struggle from terrorist anarchy.

It is essential to clearly understand that unless the freedom fighters of Kashmir project a united front and have broad-based support from the general population, their struggle will not get the recognition and meaningful support from the international community of nations.

Support for Kashmir struggle from outside Kashmir is essential, even crucial. Nevertheless, that support is subject to and will succeed or fail depending on conditions on the ground in Kashmir. The fate of Kashmir is in the hands of Kashmiris who are in Kashmir. Therefore, there is a need to first concentrate, not on the UNO (United Nations Organizations) but on YOM (Your Own Mohalla).

II. CONTEXT FOR FREEDOM:

Effective local organization is critical. Equally important, and a basic need, is to change attitude and approach.

For generations Kashmiris have been oppressed and controlled through exploitation and manipulation by outsiders. Kashmiris have always been deeply religious people. Yet, they were exploited to such an extent that they accepted oppression. Islam absolutely forbids acceptance of oppression. Why did God's creation, man, in one of the most beautiful spots on our earth, live the low life of a serf? I believe he did so because he had lost his pure religious values to the grip of social customs. Social customs governed his life which became a classic setup for exploitation. Note that in this exploitation, religion itself played a part.

For some two hundred years Kashmiri leaders have crossed over the mountains to seek help from outsiders to end oppression. Every helper, however, eventually became a tyrant. Again in 1947, when freedom was within our grasp, Sheikh Abdulla went across the mountains to Delhi. He, like his predecessors, was a slave in search of a master.

Only when we collectively rebel against oppression can lost power be regained.

My point is that we Kashmiris need to understand that political power, unless it is exercised, is taken away. That is the reason why Kashmiris, in order to achieve freedom, must get away from the mind set of dependence on others to a mind set of self-reliance. A mind set where we assume responsibility and take charge of our lives, and where faith is placed in the collective wisdom of individuals who make up the community, and not on outsiders.

My appeal to the young men and women in Kashmir is this: You have taken the first step towards true freedom. You have taken your fate in your own hands. So lead on! But do not mistake your interests as the interests of

those who want to have power over you. Be aware, organize, stand united and concentrate en masse on achieving your clearly defined common purpose: self-determination. To do that, the exercise of political power at the grass roots must be the first priority of the freedom fighters. As part of the freedom struggle, freedom fighters in Kashmir should develop a grass roots organization parallel to the government. The purpose of this organization should be to:

1. Shift the focus of political power from government control to community control.

Mass participation in the political process is the first essential step. To allow organized and effective participation, the people of Kashmir must put in place a grass roots institutional arrangement to select/elect representatives at the neighborhood level. These representatives, elected outside the existing government structure, would represent, and in turn, be directly answerable to the people.

2. Develop and implement means and methods to stop anarchy and maintain order in the daily of the population.

Kashmir needs to develop, at the grass roots level, legitimate administrative and judicial structure that is different from and distinct from that of the Indian establishment. Community representatives must, based on community direction and support, take steps to control anarchy and arrange for delivery of essential services.

3. Impede the functioning of the infrastructure of occupation.

The aim should be to avoid direct confrontation with the army, but make it economically impossible for the ruling class of India to hold on to Kashmir. Strike them where it hurts most, strike the economic interests and expose the false democratic image that India projects. The strategy of the armed struggle must be to make the instruments of occupation and oppression feel constantly insecure and vulnerable. Communists non-cooperation with the government should be such that the Indian-run administration becomes irrelevant and cost prohibitive.

A framework for the suggested organization and other components of the freedom struggle must be based on four major elements that constitute freedom. These are:

1. The first and foremost basic element is the will to be free and mass participation in expressing that will.

World attention was drawn to and focused upon Kashmir when, earlier this year, millions of people demanding their rights came out on the streets of Srinagar and other towns. Such a powerful mass demonstration of popular will did not go unnoticed.

2. The second element for freedom is to put faith in ideals and not in leaders.

For nine days during the Moia Mokadas event in Kashmir, the Kashmir government stood paralyzed. At the peak of the protest, when the holy relic was returned, Maulana Masoodi, one of our leaders, dismembered the movement in one speech. Instead of guiding the Kashmiris to seize control of the government, he invited the Central Indian government to begin a judicial probe. I recall that most people disagreed with Masoodi's decision, but they did nothing to correct it because we had put blind faith in our leaders. Leaders who are accountable to no one become slave masters. Slave masters come in many guises, be they men with tika on their forehead or men with a tishbi in their hand or even men with a Kalashnikov on their shoulder.

3. The third element for freedom is to have a clear vision of goals and a sense of direction.

It is essential to define goals clearly. What does self-determination mean? Certainly an end to Indian rule! But does it then mean that Kashmir should join Pakistan, be part of the Pan Islamic movement, or join a new federation of the Central Asian Republic? I believe that debating these concepts of geographic demarcation are immaterial. The question of self-determination is not whether to assimilate with or be separate from a geographic entity, but to have political, cultural and economic freedom and equality. Such freedom may indeed warrant an end to Indian rule, but separation from one geographic entity and joining another in itself is not the goal. Kashmir should live with all neighbors in peace and harmony, based on values of Kashmiriyat.

4. The fourth requisite element for freedom is respect for individual rights.

Sofi tradition of Kashmir implies a mind set of mutual respect for all individuals and their beliefs. This value system is part of Kashmiriyat. Kashmiriyat, at its core, has Islamic values which ordain that all humans are equal. Individual rights and freedom should not be confused with issues of morality. To illustrate this point I will use some examples:

Recently, two Muslim female students in France were not allowed to wear head scarves to school. Protests from the Muslim community compelled the authorities in France to reverse their policy. Now, if we require women to wear chaddar in Kashmir against their will, we are, in my opinion, no different than the French bigots. If my song calls for hoisting a hilaal purcham on Lal Kila, someone may hoist a Hindu Swastika on Hari Parbat. By forcing values or conformity on others, we are neither effective nor efficient. Forcing conformity is exploitation. These are tactics of tyrants who are afraid of free-thinking minds. They are not part of Kashmiriyat.

For most of my adult life I have lived as a minority. I know the helplessness and fear of being a minority. Thus, I can empathize with the Kashmiri Pandits' state of mind in Kashmir. The compassion that Kashmiri Muslims have shown, in spite of overwhelming provocation, in dealing with the minority community in Kashmir, is a great source of pride for us.

The Paendits should return home and join the struggle. They must by now realize that they have been used by the Indian establishment to project the human rights struggle of Kashmir as a communal struggle. Kashmiri Muslims, by their restraint in extremely provocative circumstances, and by protecting the rights of the minority, have demonstrated Kashmiriyat.

In sum, mass participation and respect for every individual's rights form the foundation of freedom. Plans to achieve goals must be based on an understanding of the cultural and economic environment and of self-reliance.

Freedom fighters must understand the working of the chains which bind Kashmir in subjugation.

When the British left India, imperialism did not go with them. The class struggle in India continues. The country continues to be governed by the upper-class Hindu Brahmin. To keep the India masses under subjugation they use secularism to legitimize their actions. When religion serves their purposes, they indoctrinate their soldiers with it. The ruthless India soldiers are paid mercenaries, instruments and symbols, but they are not the cause and source of oppression and exploitation in Kashmir. It is the Indian ruling class that manipulates the common man and binds him in chains of subjugation.

Freedom fighters must find and tear apart the weakest link of the chain that binds them. To illustrate my point I will compare the American and Indian scenes. The American tanks or planes are expendable, but their soldiers are not. The opposite is the case with India. Every soldier killed in Kashmir will be portrayed by the ruling class in India as an Avtar, martyred while protecting Bharat Mata. Killing Indian soldiers should not be the aim.

Recent patriotic songs on Kashmir call for shedding of blood. Will sacrificing blood by itself lead to freedom? Undoubtedly, a freedom fighter has to be prepared for the ultimate sacrifice. Freedom without sacrifice is not possible. But, coveting death or inflicting death is not the goal. It would be meaningless if it cannot bring an end to oppression. Our young men are our most precious resource and I believe that the Indian ruling establishment will not hesitate, if given an opportunity, to totally destroy it.

In 1947, the Delhi-backed government provided free transportation to Kashmiris who wanted to go to Pakistan. Many a spirited youth took the offer and migrated from Kashmir. As a result, few potential leaders were left in Kashmir to challenge the doings of India. Kashmiris cannot afford to make the deadly mistake again of becoming a target for the evil designs of the current rulers of India. The freedom movement for Kashmir needs brains first and blood last.

The most crucial need right now is to collectively express demands for self-determination. It is only when all Kashmiris come out en masse on the

streets that the world community takes notice. This happened in the earlier part of this year, when thousands of Kashmiris marched in peaceful demonstration on the streets. The international press reported it in headlines. Influential papers such as the New York Times published front page articles. Such publicity benefits the freedom movement. Incidents of unexplained violence, particularly against civilians, project a negative image and set the freedom movement back.

The future of Kashmir will be decided by the Kashmiris who are in Kashmir. Outside Kashmir, help is essential, but marginal. For the Kashmir freedom movement to progress successfully, effective organization is critical. Some are of the view that only one organization can achieve effective. I personally believe that unity of values and goals is essential, but unity of parties is not necessary. Without unity of purpose and effective organization Kashmir freedom movement will falter. We must not let that happen. There is only one choice. Kashmiris must seek a common purpose. I suggest that mass participation, self reliance and faith in individual rights is the road to finding such a common purpose.



HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATION IN KASHMIR BY INDIAN OCCUPATIONAL FORCES IN FIGURES AT A GLANCE.

(All figures quoted here are upto 31st April, 1991)

1)	Innocent Kashmiri brutally killed	21,490
2)	Persons killed in house to house search operations	195
3)	Persons brutellised, tied and drawned into Jehlum river	103
4)	Passangers burnt alive in bus	20
5)	Primary School Children burnt alive	200
6)	Adult Men & Women burnt alive	418
	[+ Budgam 113 + Pulwama 179 + Konan Dosh Pura 108]	400
7)	Persons expired for want to medicines and hospitalization	314
8)	Women died in Labour pain owing to devial of medical treatment	204
9)	Infants died for lack of life saving drugs/Food.	226
10)	Abortions due to severe beating	0,053
11)	Died In Indian Jails	0,026
12)	Girls died In gang rapes	0,104
13)	Sexual assanlts and rapes	0,410
14)	People Seriously Injured.	8300
14b)	Injured persons killed white noticed live by Indian forces	0397
15)	Permanant by disabled	1,129
16)	Men and Women in prisons	33,000
17)	Youth condemned to torture cells	17,000
18)	Kashmiri "disappeared" as held up by Indian forces	5,000
19)	People gone/pushed underground to avoid killings	50,000
20)	Peopel crossed/forced to cross sease fire line (as refugees)	20,000
21)	Youth beheaded arms and legs amutated	0,119
22)	Eyes, Nose, ears heaved off	0,198
	(Reported cases)	
23)	Property destroyed & burnt	800 (million \$)
24)	Jewlary and cash looted during search operations	3300
	(Cases Reported)	
25)	Houses and shops burnt	
	[Pulwama 218 + Posh pura 719]	937
26)	Educational Institutions burnt	451
27)	Mosques and other holly places burnt & destroyed	136
28)	Shops and other business establishments looted	1736
	Cases reported	
29)	Food and water contaminated	1363
	Cases reported	
30)	Girls jumped from top floor to avoid rape	47

75

31) Kashmir Policemen killed by Indian forces	8
32) Edditors reporters and photographers killed	5
33) News papers, dallies weekly banned	28



(Dallies & Magazines used)

(KASHMIR)

Roshni, Srinagar
 Aftab, "
 Samachar Post, "
 Srinagar Times, "
 Wadi ki Awaz, "
 Chattan, "
 Greater Kashmir"
 Al-Safa News, "
 Takbeer, "
 Kashmir Times, Jammu

PAKISTAN

Muslims, Islamabad
 Pakistan Times, "
 Jang, Rawalpindi
 Nawa-i-Waqat, "
 Nation, Lahore
 View Point, "
 News Line, Karachi
 Frontler Post, Peshawar

(INDIA)

- India today, New Delhi
 - Times of India, "
 - The Midday, "
 - Radical humanist, "
 - Sunday observer, "
 - Hindustan Times, "
 - Indian Express, "
 - Muslim India, "
 - India week, "
 - Sunday Mail, "
 - Patriot, "
 - India Abroad
 - Illustrated weekly of India,
 Bombay
 - The Independent, Bombay
 - Economic & Political weekly,
 Bombay.
 - Main stream, Bangalore
 - Dalit voice, "
 - Sunday, Calcutta Telegraph
 - Hindu, Madras
 - Front line, Madras
 - Tribune, Ghundiagarh
 Telegraph Calcuta

(ASIA)

Kayhan International, Tehran
 The weekly Friday, Dhaka
 Arab News, Jeddah
 For Eastern Economic review, Hong Kong.
 Dally Observer, Oman
 Vloxx de la paix, Fort Louis, Mourielus

(EUROPE)

The Star, Port Louis
 Le Solr, Brussels
 L. Express, "
 Frank Furt Allgemeine, Zeitung, Frankfurt
 Suddentsche, zeltung, Munich
 Diario de Noticias Lisbon

(BRITAN (U.K))

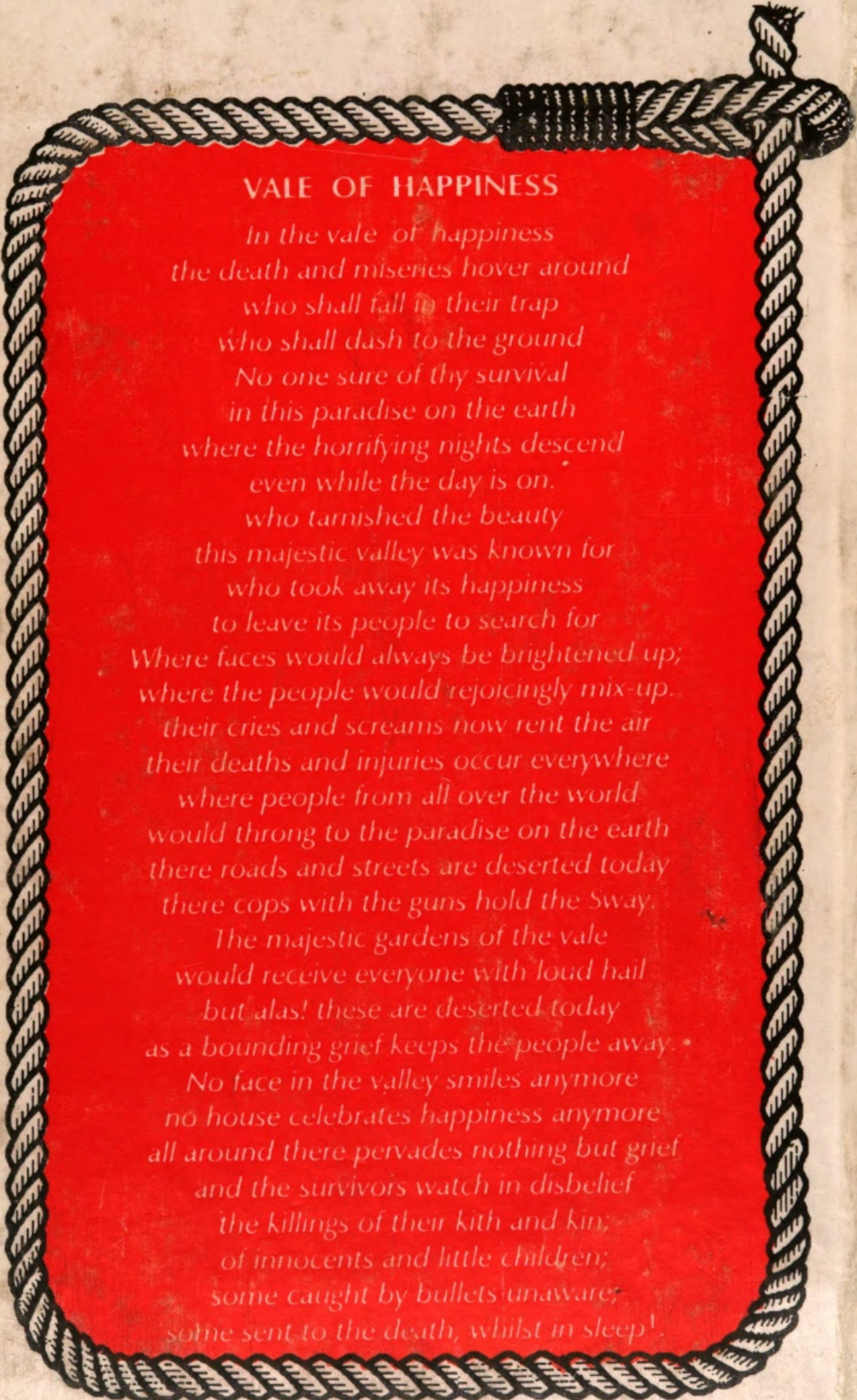
The Independent, London
 Financial times, "
 Sunday Times "
 Guardian, "
 The Times "
 Telegraph "
 Observer "

(CANADA)

The Citizen, Tronto
 The Globe and Mail Ottawa

(AMERICA)

The New York Times, New York
 The time, "
 News Week "
 The wall street journal, California
 Washington Post, Wasington
 Los Angles: Times, Losangles
 Cristian & Science Monitor, Boston



VALE OF HAPPINESS

In the vale of happiness
the death and miseries hover around
who shall fall in their trap
who shall dash to the ground
No one sure of thy survival
in this paradise on the earth
where the horrifying nights descend
even while the day is on,
who tarnished the beauty
this majestic valley was known for
who took away its happiness
to leave its people to search for
Where faces would always be brightened up;
where the people would rejoicingly mix-up,
their cries and screams now rent the air
their deaths and injuries occur everywhere
where people from all over the world
would throng to the paradise on the earth
there roads and streets are deserted today
there cops with the guns hold the Sway.
The majestic gardens of the vale
would receive everyone with loud hail
but alas! these are deserted today
as a bounding grief keeps the people away.
No face in the valley smiles anymore
no house celebrates happiness anymore
all around there pervades nothing but grief
and the survivors watch in disbelief
the killings of their kith and kin;
of innocents and little children;
some caught by bullets unaware;
some sent to the death, whilst in sleep!